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A Reckless Group of Senators

The visit of a committee of United States Senators to American fighting fronts around the world was undoubtedly good for the Senators, but it is proving pretty hard on everybody else. These Senators came back, we are told, convinced that isolationism is impossible; but unfortunately, some of them also came back with no more common sense than they had when they went, and it wasn't enough. Some of their supposedly secret but actually very public comments are not only nonsense on the face of things, but they are calculated to injure relations between ourselves and our British and Russian allies at a crucial moment in the war. If these gentlemen had been paid by Hitler—and we are sure they were not—they couldn't have done a better job for him.

To demand now that Russia give us bases in Siberia to attack Japan would mean throwing her into the Oriental part of the war. This would postpone and might perhaps even make impossible a victory against Germany in the West. Hitler has been trying his utmost to get Japan to attack Russia; doesn't it occur to the Senators that if their wishes parallel his, there is something wrong?

In regard to Lend-Lease, we see no objection to a legitimate Senate inquiry into its operations, though we can think of several far more important subjects for the Senate to investigate. We are confident that Lend-Lease has been well administered and that there are very few legitimate criticisms. We are also confident that people who criticize it at this moment are for the most part anti-English, anti-Russian, and very likely anti-war and pro-isolation.

The same thing is true of the belligerent demand that we should retain all the airfields built by Americans throughout the world for military purposes. Of all the nonsense that has lately been uttered this is surely the worst. This demand makes no sense unless you assume that the United States intends to become the greatest imperialist power of all time. Surely what has happened to the last country to try it, Germany, ought to discourage any such effort.

Walter Lippmann has made a good point when he says that Senators ought not to be permitted to send wild, sensational charges around the world with no opportunity for responsible government officials to reply. Only half the story is being told, and sometimes less than that. Free speech is a precious prerogative, and ought not to be impaired; but when this nation is fighting for its existence in the greatest war of all time, even a Senator might be a little careful about how freely he speaks.

A United Nations Bank

The announcement by Mr. Harry O. White, monetary adviser of the Secretary of the Treasury, that United Nations technicians are now discussing a project for an international bank to be a sort of RFC on a worldwide scale, is the first official hint of an institution which may become the keystone of the kind of world organization which can guarantee the four freedoms, especially freedom from want. This project, if successful, might even be as important in preserving future peace as any political arrangement to provide collective security.

An expanding economy is the *sine qua non* of full employment and increase in standards of living. A suf-

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ficient amount of new investment in productive facilities is the *sine qua non* of an expanding economy. There is doubt whether investment opportunities likely to be exploited by private capital in the United States and Great Britain are sufficient to make adequate use of savings. But there is an immense opportunity for developmental investment in many "backward" regions as well as in war-ravaged countries. An international agency to stimulate this kind of investment has long been discussed by the architects of a better world. Indeed, the United States has already begun to apply the principles actively in Latin America through the Export-Import Bank and the RFC. Two considerations at least dictate that the function should not be left entirely to private capital. One is the need for a basis of public works and other large developments which will either yield little direct return or will involve a long period of waiting for the investor and thus are better adapted to public enterprise. The other is the absolute necessity, in a better world, of avoiding the frictions which arise from financial imperialism of the old type.

How It Would Work

The Treasury announcement of the type of organization now being discussed gives little hint of these larger considerations. It reads as if the drafters had chiefly in mind a purpose to convince conservative private banking interests that there is to be no public competition with their activities. The bank is to encourage private investment, and will not make its own funds available when private funds will do the job. Though all nations are to be represented on the Board of Directors, voting power is to be apportioned according to the contributions of capital by the several nations—a device which will keep the control largely in the hands of the United States and Britain. The capital, tentatively fixed at \$10,000,000,000, is to be invested only with careful safeguards. Various technical details make up the greater part of the draft. There is little in it to appeal to the imagination or to indicate the importance of the project to the peoples of the world. Nevertheless, under wise and far-seeing management, an international investment agency is capable of starting in motion currents which will make possible the solution of almost all the difficulties that have bedeviled the world during the past quarter-century.

Post-War Planning Begins

One of the most important pieces of news of the past week was printed obscurely in the daily papers and therefore went almost unnoticed. President Roosevelt has now signed an executive order under which government agencies can begin post-war planning. Those agencies for which post-war planning is appropriate are to report to the Bureau of the Budget, making their requests for funds for a three-year program. Thereafter they are to make annual modifications of the request,

based on the changing situation. Their requests for funds will be treated by the Bureau of the Budget like all other proposed appropriations.

This is good news from several angles. In the first place, the Bureau of the Budget is reasonably popular with Congress and there is a fair chance that these appropriations may not be sabotaged by the men on the Hill, as was the case with the National Resources Planning Board. In the second place, the Bureau of the Budget will be able to dovetail requests from various agencies into one another to avoid both needless duplication of effort and conspicuous gaps. Third, the agencies can now go to work on the tremendous job of planning the transfer from a war to a peace economy, including laying out a program, of the appropriate size, for federal public works, to cushion the shock. Over and over again we have been told that workers in war factories are badly worried about their future when the war is over. Lately the same note has crept into reports from our soldiers on the fighting fronts. They fear that when they come home, the jobs they have been promised may not materialize. A sound program for demobilization of the war industries will be a factor of great value in helping the morale of all Americans engaged, in any capacity, in winning the war.

Telling the Truth in Wartime

We commend to the attention of our readers the special section published with this issue, "The Negro: His Future in America." We have tried in this special section to tell both sides of the story of Negro-white relationships. For the most part, however, it is a sorry tale of injustice in which the Negro is always the victim.

There are many who would say that such a story ought not to be told when we are in the middle of a war; that telling it makes propaganda for our enemies. We do not believe there is any merit in this contention. On the mere level of practicality, it is obvious that there is nothing in our special section that is not already well known to the enemy. There is nothing, for that matter, that can possibly equal what he has already said about us in his propaganda. But the really important point is that the democracies do not pretend that they are perfect, as the Axis countries do. We are willing to recognize that there are great inequalities in our system, and to accept, even in the midst of war, efforts to publicize these inequalities and to overcome them. Therein lies our superiority to the totalitarians. Perhaps the most hopeful single fact about race relations in this country is that a special section such as ours of this week can be written and circulated.

Willkie as Commentator

Those who recall Wendell Willkie's recent characterization of Earl Warren as "one of the great Governors" will have some trouble squaring that statement with Carey McWilliams' candid portrait of the gentle-

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man in this week's New Republic. The politically sophisticated may argue that Mr. Willkie's bouquet to the Governor of California was perfunctory, but even they will have difficulty with the more recent fulsome praise that Willkie has heaped upon former Sen. Walter E. Edge, Republican nominee for Governor of New Jersey. In this case Mr. Willkie did not limit himself to a brief nosegay, but topped a lengthy defense of the old Coolidge-Hoover wheelhorse with the statement that if he were a resident of New Jersey he would vote for Mr. Edge. It happens that Mr. Edge's opponent in November will be Vincent J. Murphy, Democratic Mayor of Newark and head of the State Federation of Labor, who has the support of all the progressive labor and liberal forces in the state. Frank Hague's tepid support of Murphy is more than offset by the vigorous support that Edge is receiving from the equally shady Republican machine and the NAM-minded big-business forces that have saddled themselves on the Republican Party. The New Republic has pointed out repeatedly that the ideals that Willkie has so eloquently expounded would probably have little chance of realization, because of the men and forces that dominate his party. Willkie's endorsement of Warren and Edge is hard to square with those ideals.

Soldiers' Families

There is one point to be made about allotments to soldiers' wives and families, and that is: it is no subject for economy. The present allowances for dependents, in many cases, cause severe hardship. All families considered eligible for allotments are treated alike, regardless of actual inequities in their needs, their living standards and the cost of living they must meet. A more graduated system of allowances is necessary, to cover all cases not with a blanket ruling, but with a carefully worked out program of assistance, with greater stress placed on maternity benefits. The latter is an especially important point, since the health, and the amount of assistance needed by the mother, cannot be determined by a uniform economic ruling.

The purpose of the allotments which we pay to a soldier's family should be to remove the burden from his relatives, regardless of cost. This country can certainly afford to pay the wives and children of the men who are fighting for our existence a sufficient sum to maintain a decent minimum standard of living. Nothing hurts a soldier's fighting spirit more than the fear that his dependents are suffering unjustified and unnecessary hardships. In this case, we should certainly err on the side of generosity.

More Nonsense from the Colonel

Col. Robert R. McCormick's long investigation of the plot to reduce the United States to a British colony has uncovered a new devil—the Rhodes scholar. Set off by the discovery that Representatives Fulbright

and Hale and Elmer Davis, director of the OWI, were former Rhodes scholars, the blustering Colonel made several changes on his musty old attack on any sane attempt at post-war world coöperation. First he demanded that all Rhodes scholars publicly declare themselves in favor of America; and then he wanted them registered with the government and fingerprinted. Our thanks to the Colonel for the heartiest laugh in weeks. Not to take him too seriously, did he ever see a Rhodes scholar? We have seen a lot of them, and we find them, instead of being Anglophiles, the most robustly American lot you ever saw.

A Success Story

The campaign of Frank Gannett, anti-administration newspaper owner, to suppress "Under Cover" has only helped make the book the nation's number-one non-fiction best-seller, despite the fact that his attack frightened Baker and Taylor, the country's biggest book jobber, away from handling it. The only charitable interpretation of Mr. Gannett's action is that he secretly desired the book to succeed, since such attacks, whether on burlesque shows, the plays of Eugene O'Neill or factual reports of subversive activities such as "Under Cover," invariably end in whetting the public appetite. Surely Mr. Gannett, schooled in the field of public relations, should have known this to be true. At any rate, the sales of "Under Cover" have continued to soar so that it is the best-selling non-fiction book in every large city in the country with the exception, amusingly enough, of Washington. Even there, however, it is in second place.



Darling in The New York Herald Tribune
With Apologies to Jiggs and Maggie

Alton Levy

Alton Levy, once an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is now a private in the United States Army. Formerly a sergeant, he was recently demoted in rank, deprived of part of his pay, and is serving four months' hard labor in the guardhouse at the Lincoln, Nebraska, Air Base. Friends of Private Levy say he is being disciplined for speaking out against discriminatory treatment of Negro troops. If this charge is true, the treatment awarded him is shocking indeed. We hope his case will be promptly and thoroughly investigated.

No More Bargain Basements?

The Office of Price Administration and the Office of Civilian Requirements are both seriously concerned over the fact that many manufacturers who formerly produced low-cost consumers' goods are now turning almost entirely to the production of higher-priced items, despite OPA regulations forbidding them to do so. For some time now, stores which depend on a large volume of sales of low-priced goods for the principal part of their business have been complaining to the government that they are no longer able to buy at the old wholesale prices the goods they formerly sold. The Wall Street Journal recently quoted one high OPA official on the problem: "We've decreed that a manufacturer must produce the same quantity of items at a particular cost level that he did before the war. We've tried to enforce that regulation . . . but there's no getting around the fact that there are not as many low-cost goods available now as there were a year ago." The OPA and the OCR are now holding conferences on what can be done. Raising price ceilings on the cheaper items so that manufacturers will want to make them is one solution being considered. Obviously, a better answer than this will have to be found unless low-income consumers are to take another hard blow in the pocketbook.

The State of Texas v. Labor

Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel and his gang, over a period of time, have succeeded in putting on the law books of Texas some of the most vicious anti-labor legislation known in this country. Not content with that, O'Daniel and his spiritual cronies in the Christian American Association have stumped many other states trying to impose similar laws on them, through their legislatures. Now R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers, is in Texas making a test case of one of the worst of those laws, which provides that all labor organizers must have permits before they can solicit members. Thomas has been arrested and released under a writ of habeas corpus. A hearing on his case before the Supreme Court of Texas is set for October 20.

Who Will Pay for the War?

ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS we have criticized the Treasury Department for not presenting to Congress an adequate and rounded fiscal program. Last year it merely asked for an increase in taxes, leaving Congress to work out the details. The theory was that Congress was jealous of its own prerogatives, and would be antagonized by a complete program. Whatever may have been the merits of this strategy, it was ruined by the hot debate over a relatively meaningless side-issue—whether or not a shift to pay-as-you-go, at existing rates, would involve "forgiveness" and windfalls to rich taxpayers. The result was that Congress spent precious months deciding on a better way to collect income taxes without substantially increasing their amount.

Now, however, the Treasury has come forward with a well designed and cogently defended proposal. Congress, as was to be expected, evinces indignation at being asked to impose on the taxpayers anything like a large enough share of the burden of expense which it has so cheerfully appropriated. Nevertheless the Treasury has acted with courage and wisdom. It deserves the hearty support of all public-spirited citizens who can add and subtract figures. The responsibility has been placed squarely where it belongs; if Congress fails to provide the nation with a strong fiscal front, its leaders and majorities will alone have to bear the blame.

Why Do We Need Higher Taxes?—Two important considerations dictate the need for more tax revenue—first, to narrow the inflationary gap, and second, to prevent the national debt from bedeviling us after the war.

During the present fiscal year, the citizens will receive about \$150,000,000,000 in income. Taxes will take away about \$20,000,000,000 of this potential spending power. The goods and services available for consumers will be worth, at present ceiling prices, about \$90,000,000,000. That leaves \$40,000,000,000 which cannot be spent without bidding up prices. Some of this money, to be sure, is being lent to the government by voluntary purchase of war bonds, some of it is being saved in other ways, and some is being hoarded in cash. If this were not so, prices would have risen far more than they have, and price control would have drowned in a welter of black markets. But during the past year three great bond drives have succeeded in attracting only \$17,000,000,000 of this excess purchasing power from individual saving. Allow a substantial figure for other types of personal saving, and still it is evident that the Treasury's proposal to raise \$10,500,000,000 more by taxes is a modest one. It would leave excess purchasing power in the billions.

In order to make sure that there is no misunderstanding of this situation, it may be well to tabulate it:

Income received by individual consumers, fiscal year 1943-44—	\$150,000,000,000
Out of this will come taxes at present rates—	20,000,000,000
Leaving to be spent, saved or hoarded—	130,000,000,000
All goods and services available to consumers will cost at present prices—	90,000,000,000
Leaving total excess purchasing power of—	40,000,000,000
Of this, purchase of war savings bonds is likely to absorb no more than—	17,000,000,000
Leaving to be saved, spent or hoarded—	23,000,000,000
Largest probable savings, aside from bond purchase—	5,000,000,000
Leaving to be spent or hoarded—	18,000,000,000
Of this, the Treasury now proposes to take in taxes—	10,500,000,000
Leaving to be spent on black markets, hoarded or saved in excess of expectations—	7,500,000,000

In addition to the need of avoiding inflation, it is desirable to keep the national debt as low as possible. We do not subscribe to the popular belief that an internal debt is necessarily a burden, no matter how large it may be. Yet by June, 1944, the annual interest charge will have reached about \$4,000,000,000 even at present low rates, and under present conditions about \$2,500,000,000 a year is being added to it. It is not easy to distribute such a charge fairly in taxes. And the larger it is, the more difficult it will be politically to bring about more government borrowing and spending, even though a full-employment policy might demand a period of deficit-financed public expenditures.

Distributing the Burden.—If no new taxes are enacted, we as a people will pay for the war anyway, because of the relative shortages of goods and services. We shall pay for it in real things by the sacrifices demanded, and we shall pay for it in money by having to lay out inflationary prices for the limited supply of goods. The kind of taxes levied merely affects the distribution of the burden. Higher prices impose it mainly on those least able to pay; a good tax bill, which aims to avoid inflation, places it on stronger shoulders. Secretary Morgenthau's proposal calls for \$6,500,000,000 more in personal income taxes, \$1,100,000,000 in corporation taxes, \$2,500,000,000 in excise taxes and \$400,000,000 in estate and gift taxes. Admitting that nobody likes to have his taxes increased, and remembering that war demands real sacrifices from civilians as well as from soldiers, is this too much?

Two important changes are recommended in the manner of reckoning personal taxes. One is the repeal of the Victory Tax, which adds greatly to the complication and annoyance of present tax returns and is unduly onerous on those of small income. While many citizens would be relieved of direct taxes by this change, all are subject to indirect taxes, and a lowering of the exemption for income taxes would include those truly able to pay. Another suggested change is the abolition of the "earned-income credit," which in its present form com-

plicates returns. It is proposed also to withhold taxes on a graduated scale, so that there would be less left over for those in surtax brackets to pay quarterly.

It is not intended to increase taxes on any income of \$1,000 or less, but from here up there are boosts in every bracket. The largest percentage increases occur in the middle brackets, since as one goes further up the scale, tax rates are already so high that there is less room for increases. Those who may object that the increases should not apply to the smaller incomes—say to those between \$1,000 and \$5,000—the answer is that the greater part of the national income goes to persons with incomes of this size—\$97,000,000,000 as against \$30,000,000,000 in all the brackets above them. We cannot collect enough without dipping further into this main stream of the nation's purchasing power.

It is proposed to follow the British precedent by granting a post-war credit to the smaller taxpayers, thus introducing the equivalent of a compulsory loan. The chief advantage of this is that it may make the increase seem more palatable, and may induce many to save who would not otherwise do so. It is also proposed that there be an increase in social-security taxes as an anti-inflationary measure, but in that case income-tax rates are to be moderated for those affected.

As for excise taxes, few can object, in time of war, to higher rates on such things as liquor, cigarettes, furs, etc., none of which is necessary to sustain life.

The Question of Corporate Reserves.—Strong opposition has developed to the increase on corporate taxes, on the ground that business needs to lay aside large reserves for reconversion to peacetime production, and for other possible eventualities. The answer is that corporations have already been laying aside such reserves, in most cases before reckoning taxes, and still have larger profits than ever in history. From 1940 through 1943 net earnings of all corporations will average \$3,900,000,000 every year in excess of the average of the previous four years, *after taxes are deducted*. Relief for smaller corporations, where needed, is allowed for.

Why Not Sales Taxes?—In its revulsion against levying taxes which will hurt, Congress is considering a general retail sales tax, which will hurt even more, but will be concealed in the prices paid for articles bought. Aside from questions of principle, such a tax would not raise enough to be a substitute for the other measures suggested. Commodities which might be taxable are worth \$59,000,000,000 at present ceiling prices. If, in order not to reduce still further the nutritional standards of the poor, food were exempted, the remaining goods would have a value of about \$35,000,000,000. A 10-percent levy on these—the rate usually suggested—would thus yield \$3,500,000,000. But many of these items are already subject to high excise taxes, and if these are deducted, there would be only perhaps

\$2,000,000,000 left, as against the total need for not less than \$10,500,000,000. Some proponents of the sales tax argue that it would help the war economy by restricting purchases, but if it did so, the yield would fall. They cannot have it both ways.

The retail sales tax would in addition involve added expense of collection and would be a strain on manpower and machine priorities. "Bureaucracy" infringing on the unfortunate retailer would be redoubled.

We Can Do It.—Those who argue that these additional increases cannot be borne by the population are invited to look at Britain and Canada, both of which have higher effective rates of taxation than we, even though they had lower per-capita incomes to start with. Britain is now meeting more than half her war expenses by taxation, while we are not meeting more than 40 percent. This country's standard of living has scarcely fallen as a result of the war, except in respect of a few scarce commodities. Most of us do not have to face machine guns or air bombs, but surely we can undergo a little hardship for the sake of the future.

End of a News Monopoly

THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT decision which declared the Associated Press guilty of violating the United States anti-trust laws is a victory for a free press. Members of the Association will henceforth find it much harder to bar competing newspapers from obtaining access to the news service. The directors of the AP previously had no right to admit a newspaper against the veto of other newspapers in the same city. While the membership by-laws were liberal in appearance, since all applications for admission had to be voted on by the majority of the AP papers in a given city, the practical results were always such as to make the majority principle inoperative. Often, only the minority of the newspapers in any city would actually face competition from a new member; but the majority always sided with the minority in order to protect its own interests, should they ever be threatened by the admission of a new competitor.

The government's suit against the AP was instituted on August 22, 1942, when the AP's refusal to grant a franchise to Marshall Field's Chicago Sun was brought under investigation. The Sun's application for membership had been blocked by The Chicago Tribune under the prevailing by-laws. Since The Sun was The Tribune's only morning competitor, the restraint was clearly monopolistic, operating to the private interest and benefit of the McCormick paper. The news service of the AP was thus perverted to operate not as a public service, but as a quasi-private dispensation. The ruling of the court now makes it impossible for AP members to block the admission of a new paper, on the grounds

of the applicant's status as a possible competitor. AP papers will still have the right to withhold news from non-members, thus maintaining the exclusiveness of the service, but the forthcoming revision of the membership laws will break the monopoly.

This is a far-reaching decision, affecting the entire future of the press in the United States, and also breaking a cartel arrangement whereby the AP had exercised exclusive right to news from the Canadian press. The decision will encourage fair competition and, we hope, help inspire higher standards of journalism, especially in those papers most directly affected by the court order. But there is a limit to what the decision can accomplish. Nothing in the new ruling can amend the evil ways of those papers which are subservient to private interests or given over to political chicanery, isolationism and the creation of mistrust of our allies.

The very way in which the AP story was carried by the New York newspapers serves as a case in point. Only PM gave the story the prominence it deserved. The New York Times, while admitting the story to its sanctified front page, kept its real significance out of the leading headlines, trying to convert a defeat into a victory, and a few days later petulantly published an important piece of news—to the effect that the government was satisfied with the ruling, regarding it as a true trust-busting accomplishment—in the last two columns of its very last page. Most of the other New York papers either buried the court decision in their remote middle pages, minimized its importance or decked it out with misleading headlines. Such antics are perhaps to be expected from the newspapers which fought the government's monopoly suit by championing themselves as the defenders of freedom of the press. The present court ruling will not reform their editorial policies. But if the decision prevents the newspaper industry from exercising restraint of trade, it will at least give the better papers a fighting chance to raise the standards of journalism.

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Russia's Political Offensive

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE of the British, Soviet and American foreign secretaries, preliminary only to a subsequent meeting of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, will be a momentous diplomatic event. But no staggering decisions should be expected from the conference. No binding agreements are to be reached. The conference is important because it will give the representatives of the three Allied governments a first opportunity to feel out each other's political strength. Its success or failure will primarily depend on the degree of frankness with which the discussions are carried on. Mr. Churchill in his recent parliamentary speech promised that no question will be barred, that the whole ground will be surveyed, and that matters will be carried forward to agreement wherever possible. But he also emphasized that the work of the conference, though invaluable and an indispensable preliminary to the later meeting of the heads of the three governments, will remain, in the words of Mr. Churchill, on a "foreign-office level." In other words, the Moscow discussions will be in the hands of hard-headed foreign-office careerists. The most that can be hoped for is that these officials will begin to understand each other's objectives. This is particularly desirable for our State Department which until now has seemed altogether blind to the political realities of the European situation, especially the fact that Russia's political offensive to win the peace in Europe has been in full swing for some time.

The British and American delegates will find the Soviet Union in an exceptionally strong diplomatic position. The Russians are quite aware of this. Their refusal to have the conference shifted to London in order to accommodate the aging American Secretary of State is not only symptomatic of Russia's diplomatic strength, but also suggests that Stalin wishes to be close to the scene of the discussions. In all likelihood he intends to play a prominent part without being seen. Moreover, Mr. Molotov will have at his disposal Russia's most eminent experts on British and American affairs, the former ambassadors Maisky and Litvinov. Their recall from Washington and London, generally interpreted as a Russian rebuff to the delay in the opening of a front in Western Europe, thus appears in a new light. To have these men in the Soviet Foreign Office in this period of crucial post-war negotiations is an astute political move.

What does the Soviet Union want? Essentially what she always wanted. A country's foreign policy is always a corollary of its internal policy and the Soviet Union is no exception. Prior to the war her economic objectives were the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture. Her political objectives

were the firm establishment of the proletarian-revolutionary regime and the gradual introduction of democratic processes. To achieve these goals Russia's foreign policy was directed toward the maintenance of peace. This basic aim of Soviet foreign policy was never changed, has not changed and is unlikely to be changed in the future. The Soviet Union cannot afford to have any other goal. She is not only confronted with the enormous task of continuing the policy of socialism in one country, far from being completed when the German attack came, but also of rebuilding her industries, cities and agricultural life destroyed by the war. She will have suffered terrible losses in manpower which will seriously hamper economic reconstruction. The maintenance of peace must again be the key to Soviet foreign policy.

Naturally, there are alternative courses of foreign political action. There have been alternative policies in the past and there will be in the future. When the Western powers were hostile, isolation served the purposes of Russian foreign policy. With the rise of Hitler and the threat of Nazi aggression, collective security became the mainstay of Soviet policy. When collective security failed, Russia made her pact with Germany, gaining invaluable time in which to perfect preparations for the anticipated German onslaught. Every one of these policies had as primary objective the security of the Soviet Union.

It is important to recall these past variations of Soviet foreign policy because they may easily reëmerge in the future. The policy of isolation, deeply rooted in the suspicions of Soviet revolutionary ideology, is not yet dead. It is based on the fear that Anglo-American Tories and Continental reactionaries would like to see Russia bled white, and the long delay in the opening of a Western European front has to some extent kept alive the distrust of the Western powers. World revolution as a weapon to ensure Soviet security has been discarded as impractical. Stalin desires chaos and revolution in Europe no more than Churchill and Roosevelt do. But in contrast to his Western allies, Stalin, an experienced revolutionary himself, realizes the inevitability of revolutionary situations throughout Europe. Instead of suppressing them he intends to ride and control them to the advantage of the Soviet Union. While his Western allies groom a Darlan, a Franco, a Giraud, a Badoglio, the Hapsburgs and the reactionary governments-in-exile of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece, Stalin is busy winning the friendship of Europe's revolutionary masses. The chief problem facing the foreign secretaries meeting in Moscow is not the question of Europe's future boundaries, but of the political coloration of the governments which will

emerge after the war in the various European nations. Both the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American bloc know that there are strong left-wing tendencies at work throughout the European continent. Moscow's political offensive is directed toward encouraging, but also controlling these tendencies to the advantage of Russian security.

But the Russian leaders also know that Soviet security ultimately depends on a stable European equilibrium. They sincerely desire close ties with the Western powers. They have indicated their willingness to cooperate with the United States and Great Britain in a number of ways which assure them a dominant diplomatic position vis-a-vis their Western partners at the forthcoming conferences and around the future peace table. They hold most of the trumps in their hands. The "Second Front" is still their strongest talking point. It does not matter that a front has been opened up in Southern Europe and that Germany's industrial output is continuously weakened by blows from the air. The second-front demand has become a symbolic question, a test of Anglo-American sincerity.

Of the political moves designed to facilitate cooperation with the Western powers the most important undoubtedly was the dissolution of the Communist International, long a stumbling block to Anglo-American-Soviet cooperation. It was not merely a good-will gesture, intended to take the wind out of the sails of the professional Russophobes in and out of the governments in Washington and London. It was also an invitation to unity of all progressive forces outside of the Soviet Union which had been critical of the Moscow tie-up of the various national Communist Parties. But the most important aspect of the dissolution of the Comintern is that it gave additional proof of the Soviet Union's abandonment of the policy of isolation of which the existence of the Third International was the most eloquent expression.

Further evidence of Soviet desire for international cooperation is the demand, recently reiterated in the new magazine, *War and the Working Class*, for making the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee a real working arrangement. The committee, formed in the fall of 1941, is an important link between the Soviet Union and the Western nations. While its significance has so far been in the realm of propaganda rather than policy, it nevertheless constitutes a potentially powerful device for international harmony. There are many outstanding differences to be settled before the committee will become a functioning organism. But if Great Britain should elect a Labor government after the war, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee will serve as an additional instrument for cementing Anglo-Russian friendship. Soviet insistence on making the committee function now is born from the knowledge that the British working class, though hostile to the Communists at home, is opposed to any imperial-

istic ventures and genuinely in favor of peace with the Soviet Union. Like the dissolution of the Comintern, the Soviet proposal for strengthening the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee is an integral part of Moscow's political offensive.

British labor is not the only group which the Soviet Union is courting. The reestablishment of the Russian Orthodox Church will have far-reaching results for a continued Anglo-Soviet understanding after the war. The peace between the Kremlin and the Orthodox Church was hailed as an important step in the rapprochement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union by the most influential spokesmen of the Anglican Church, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who have had a liberal attitude toward the Soviet Union for some time. A close working arrangement is to be expected between the two churches in the future. At the invitation of the reinstated Moscow Patriarch Sergius, the Archbishop of York recently visited Moscow. While it was emphasized that neither the British nor the Soviet government was officially linked up with the visit, the fact that the Anglican churchman was received by Foreign Commissar Molotov suggests that the Soviet government is fully aware of the political asset which the Orthodox Church represents.

But the political role assigned by the Soviet government to the Orthodox Church assumes its full meaning in connection with Moscow's political offensive in the Balkans. Russia has always had close cultural and religious ties with the Balkan nations. These ties were considerably weakened by the anti-clericalism of the Soviets after the Revolution of 1917. However, the great victories of the Russian army, coupled with the hatred of the Balkan peoples for the Germans, have enormously increased the prestige of the Soviet Union in that area. It would be folly for the Soviet Union to give up the influence which is falling into her lap. Her popularity in Yugoslavia, where she has given consistent moral and some military support to the Partisan forces of General Tito, is great. The people of Bulgaria, violently opposed to the foreign policy of the pro-Axis government, have not forgotten that Russia once helped them to shake off the Turkish yoke. Russian influence in both countries will be strengthened by the reestablishment of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union. But of particular interest is the role of the Orthodox Church in regard to Greece, a maritime country traditionally close to Great Britain, where the Orthodox clergy is putting up decisive resistance to the Axis occupation forces. It is not accidental that the Greek Ambassador to Moscow, Athanase Politis, attended the enthronement of Patriarch Sergius. There can be no doubt that the reestablishment of the Orthodox Church is an essential part of Russia's political offensive.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy in the Balkans and in Central Europe is motivated by political and

economic reasons. Politically the Soviet Union cannot tolerate in either the Balkans or in Central Europe governments which are hostile to her security. Hence she has consciously sabotaged the treaties concluded last year between the Yugoslav and Greek, and the Polish and Czecho-Slovakian governments-in-exile. The treaties were to serve as nuclei for future regional federations. They are dead letters today. The Soviet Union will have no truck with the reactionary Polish government-in-exile. Instead she has sponsored within Russia the Union of Polish Patriots headed by Wanda Wasilewska, whose husband, Alexander Korneychuk, a Ukrainian, is a Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Two Polish army units have been organized, the Kosciuszko and Dombrowski divisions. They are scheduled to play an important part in the liberation of Poland. The success of the Moscow conference may well be measured by the disposition made of the Polish-government question. It will reveal Russia's attitude toward such other politically doubtful governments-in-exile as the Yugoslav and Greek, both now located in Cairo. On the other hand, her eagerness to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance with the Czecho-Slovakian government-in-exile suggests that the Soviet Union is ready to support such governments as are deemed genuinely democratic.

The Soviet policy makers do not think in terms of the narrow nationalisms characteristic of the reactionary governments in the countries surrounding Russia. Not only are they intent on having friendly and stable governments in the Balkans and in Central Europe, but they also recognize that these areas, including Germany, constitute a single economic unit. There exists an economically organic relationship between the Balkans and Central Europe. If the Soviet Union wants to exert political control in either area, she must control them economically. Under Nazi auspices the integration of the Balkan-Central European area, while economically sound, was politically harmful to the security of the Soviet Union. Under Soviet auspices the picture would be vastly changed. There is much sound reasoning in this. But the effective materialization of such a plan depends on the existence in Germany of a friendly government which would closely cooperate with the Soviet Union along the political and economic lines suggested. Indeed, these considerations are basic to an understanding of the most spectacular feature of Moscow's political offensive, the establishment of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow on July 12, 1943.

The attention which the establishment of the Free Germany Committee aroused cannot have escaped the policy makers in Washington and London. Regardless of its merits as a piece of propaganda designed to intensify the disintegration in the morale of the German army and people, regardless of its peculiar composition of old Communist wheelhorses and professional

soldiers, regardless of its virtues or vices as a program to cure Germany's social ills after the war, the committee is clearly an expression of Russian foreign policy. It has been hinted that Moscow intended the committee's manifesto to be read in London and Washington even before it reached Berlin. The manifesto outlines a policy which stands in sharp contrast to the Casablanca policy of unconditional surrender. In fact it announces that the Soviet Union plans to play a decisive role in the future of Germany.

The establishment of the Free Germany Committee and more recently the creation of the Union of German Officers, 100 generals and officers from those who lost the battle of Stalingrad, climaxes a determined effort on the part of the Soviet Union to win over as many captured German soldiers and officers as possible for the obvious purpose of using them after the downfall of the Nazi regime. This long-range program was inaugurated in Russia's darkest hours, on October 8, 1941, when the "First Conference of German Prisoner of War Privates and Non-Commissioned Officers in the Soviet Union" was held. The conference then adopted a declaration addressed to the German people which contained the germs of the later Free Germany Committee manifesto when it said that "only the overthrow of Hitler can lead to the creation of a free, equal and independent Germany." Moscow's German policy as outlined in the manifesto of the Free Germany Committee is not of recent origin, but has been planned for a long time.

The program of the Free Germany Committee is Moscow's plan for post-war Germany. This plan can only be understood in comparison with Russian plans in the Balkans and in Central Europe. Russia wants friendly governments with whom she can cooperate politically and economically. Germany will be called upon to play a prominent part in this arrangement. Consequently the overthrow of Hitler must be accomplished with as little internal disorder as possible. Germany must be strong. If there should be a revolution, it must be channeled into orderly processes. The German government must be friendly. Germany's economy must be rebuilt. Her industrial potential will complement the agrarian economy of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Instead of unconditional surrender, the German people are promised peace and prosperity upon the overthrow of Hitler.

This plan is not a mere propaganda device. It epitomizes the Soviet Union's positive foreign policy. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union is tackling the political problems of the war with outspoken boldness even in areas where her national interests are less at stake. The magazine *War and the Working Class*, presumed to express authoritative views which have not as yet reached the stage of official policy, has repeatedly criticized the Allied Military Government in Italy. The Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* has claimed that the fall of

Mussolini was hastened by the bitter defeats of the Axis armies on the Russian Front. The vigor of these criticisms and claims, which might well offend her Western allies, is another indication of Moscow's diplomatic strength. On the positive side, her recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation outdistanced the limited recognition given by Great Britain and the United States. Finally, the creation of the Allied Mediterranean Commission, a first step toward united Soviet-Anglo-American political coöperation on a post-war problem, was chiefly the outcome of Russian initiative. The appointment of Andrei G. Vishinsky, a Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs and a close adviser of Molotov and Stalin, stands in marked contrast to the American appointment of Edmund C. Wilson, a minor and unknown diplomat. The nomination of Vishinsky to the Mediterranean Commission is typical of the

Soviet Union's policy of positive diplomatic action.

Moscow's political planning of the future is put into even sharper relief by the unimaginative wait-and-see policy of Washington and London. Anglo-American unpreparedness in Italy upon the fall of Mussolini is the most conspicuous example. We have no plan for Germany. The governments-in-exile are left without political orientation, although there is some evidence that the British are fed up with the political machinations of the reactionary Yugoslav government-in-exile. But the Poles have not been reprimanded for their nationalistic sniping at the Soviet Union. All indications are to the effect that Russia is quickly stealing the show in Europe and that she will overshadow Great Britain and the United States at the forthcoming conference and at the peace table in the solution of Europe's post-war problems.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Wanted: More Taxes

WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS right now is higher taxes. What it is going to get is something else again. For one political reason or another, it is highly probable that even the modest Treasury program for collecting \$10,500,000,000 in the next fiscal year will not become law.

In August, in his revised budget message, the President said: "I recommended in my budget message last January a truly stiff program. I continue to stick to that. I believe that we should strive to collect not less than \$16,000,000,000 of additional funds by taxation, savings, or both, during the fiscal year of 1944." The Treasury Department experts went to work under that presidential directive and found the President's estimate of the tax need quite in line with the facts. They noted that although bank investments in federal securities rose \$23,500,000,000 in 1942, the pocketbooks and checking accounts of private citizens and business firms swelled by 29 percent in the same period. And they understood the spending threat inherent in so much immediately available money. They compared United States taxes, which have been covering only about one-third of our government expenditures, with British and Canadian standards of war finance calling for taxes to cover one-half of their central government expenditures. And in Great Britain and Canada other means of inflation control are generally more forcefully applied than here: wage ceilings have been operating longer and rationing is stricter and broader. The tax experts looked at the results of our inadequate program on rationing and price control, the growth of black markets as supplies shrink and excess spending power increases. The Treasury estimates that during the present fiscal year, Americans will have nearly \$15 of spending power after taxes for every \$10 worth of

goods available, whereas in Britain the ratio is approximately \$12 for \$10 worth of goods.

The evidence clearly shows that we need the full \$16,000,000,000 tax program the President called for. But as Secretary Morgenthau and his associates began to revise the needed program to adjust it to congressional opinion, they decided to lower their tax request first to \$12,000,000,000 and later to the \$10,500,000,000 program now under consideration. The lowered sights were political, determined on an estimate of what the congressional traffic would bear.

The confused manner in which the \$10,500,000,000 program was arrived at is interesting for the light it throws on our over-all tax policies, or lack of them. Treasury officials took their contracted \$10,500,000,000 plan to Economic Stabilizer Vinson and Economic Mobilizer Byrnes. These two immediately put their fingers on the most obvious omission in the Morgenthau program—no provision for forced savings. American advertising men, intent on giving their all for war finance, last summer sold the Secretary of the Treasury their ideas about voluntary savings in the form of bonds and stamps and payroll deductions. "Forced saving" became an ugly word around the Treasury, John Maynard Keynes to the contrary notwithstanding.

Vinson and Byrnes also took one look at Morgenthau's proposal for raising a major part of the needed revenue through an extension of the social-security program, utilizing increased payroll taxes as an anti-inflation measure, and vetoed that part of the Secretary's program too. Organized labor made it clear to Morgenthau that it was willing to undergo the sacrifices necessary to expand social security enough to lessen the threat by about \$5,000,000,000 of inflation. But what labor was willing to stomach was apparently

of little or no interest to the White House tax-makers. Byrnes and Vinson contended that it was politically unfeasible to obtain passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill or any similar social-security measure, and they persuaded the President to go along with them instead of the Secretary. The President himself had one item to add to the tax program, a proposal allowing taxpayers to purchase a paid-up life-insurance policy with the refunded money they will receive after the war.

The whole program was then wrapped up for Secretary Morgenthau to take up to Capitol Hill. The House Ways and Means Committee does not like Secretary Morgenthau, and it was clear almost from the first moment of hearings on the new tax proposals that the committee does not like the idea of a real tax program either. The transcript of the recent hearings reveals that a number of the committee's members do not believe in the threat of inflation and that some others, like Representative Dewey of Illinois, believe in it so strongly that to them the "inflationary gap" is already so wide that nothing can be done to bridge it. Most of the committee members, however, are apparently keeping their tax thinking on a much more earthy plane. They examine tax proposals with one eye on their own election chances next year and the other on their own pocketbooks this year. Congressional eyes habitually flash toward the \$10,000-a-year column when tax estimates are presented.

Henry Morgenthau faced a hostile committee when he presented the administration's plan to the House. First he carefully explained the reasons for the program, emphasizing the great quantity of "dangerous dollars" of excess spending money which will be burning holes in the national pocket unless steps are taken to draw them off. There will be a \$60,000,000,000 gap between the \$150,000,000,000 income expected in 1944 and the \$90,000,000,000 worth of goods and services available for purchase. Even after \$20,000,000,000 are deducted for taxes at the present rates and about \$17,000,000,000 more go for war bonds and savings, there will still be a large enough amount of excess income to create a real danger of inflation, the Secretary warned. Then he went on to outline the administration's \$10,500,000,000 program: \$6,500,000,000 to come from individual income taxes, with increased surtax rates, reduced personal exemptions to \$1,100 for married couples and heads of families and reduced dependent credit to \$300; repeal of the inequitable Victory Tax and of the earned-income-credit feature of the present tax law; \$1,100,000,000 to come from corporation income taxes—increasing surtax rates to raise the ceiling to 50 percent instead of the present 40 percent on corporations with incomes in excess of \$50,000; a \$500,000,000 increase to come from estate and gift taxes; and \$2,400,000,000 in new excise levies.

Four-fifths of all the national income, Morgenthau told the House committee, is going to people earning

less than \$5,000 a year. Sixty-seven and three-tenths million people will be earning an income in 1944 and will receive approximately \$157,000,000,000. More than 58,000,000 of them make less than \$3,000 a year; they will receive \$96,300,000,000. Those making less than \$5,000 total 64,900,000, and will get \$127,000,000,000 of the 1944 income.

On the corporation side of the ledger, in 1944 corporation incomes will total about \$25,400,000,000, bringing total earnings in the war years to more than \$69,000,000,000. After present taxes, almost \$7,000,000,000 would be left in 1944, making a total of more than \$18,000,000,000 of income retained after taxes for the war period.

The administration did not expect the nearly unanimous opposition to its program which lined up almost before Secretary Morgenthau completed his presentation. The Republicans seized on the statistics relating to the proportion of the national income going to the person earning less than \$5,000 and shouted for higher taxes on the poor man. Democrats like Willis Robertson of Virginia joined in the soak-the-poor campaign with demands for a sales tax to draw off more of the low-income-group's dollars. The old economy issue was dusted off again, and hard-shelled Republican John Taber of New York made another effort to sell his old line about how all that is wrong with this country is that President Roosevelt is a spendthrift. Taber told his old friend, Chairman Robert L. Doughton of Ways and Means, that the government can easily save \$4,500,000,000 a year just by being economical; but when rabid Harold Knutson of Minnesota began expounding this theory at greater length it seemed to boil down to a typically America First proposal that we spend less on the war.

There were some picayune objections. Chairman Doughton, who comes from the tobacco section of North Carolina, flared up at the Treasury's proposal for increasing the excise tax on tobacco. "Don't you know we have to live with the folks back home," he roared at Treasury Counsel Randolph Paul. Because he is mad at Senator George, who heads the Senate committee which considers tax questions, Doughton thinks it would be much better to increase taxes on soft drinks (George comes from Georgia) than on cigarettes.

One reason given for making Fred Vinson Economic Stabilizer was that he would be able to handle Congress on tax matters. Vinson followed Morgenthau in the recent House hearings. He was on his feet for three full hours of testimony, and despite his eloquence, the committee's hostility remained unchanged. Vinson, if anything, made a stronger plea for a stiff tax program than had Morgenthau, much to the disappointment of his old colleagues. He described to the congressmen their choice: "Whether the danger of inflation will be minimized by a war revenue bill, or

whether the nation will be left to assume the grave risks inherent in the existing situation."

There is every indication that Congress intends to abandon this nation to the "grave risks" Vinson warned against. Only mild protests have yet been heard. The CIO, the Farmers' Union, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the League of Women Shoppers and the National Lawyers' Guild have joined together on a nine-point program which goes somewhat farther than that of the administration, principally in calling for the plugging of loopholes in the present law. But as yet this program has not been implemented organizationally even by these most progressive groups. They have created no effective opposition to the almost certain junking of an equitable tax law.

Unless we have a democratic tax program based on

ability to pay, which will siphon off dangerously inflationary incomes, workers and farmers with small incomes are going to suffer serious cuts in what in some cases are already ominously low standards of living. The modest Treasury program should be taken as a "minimum requirement." Nothing less is consistent with a policy of equal sacrifice in this war. What the House is threatening to give us is less than half of what the administration has asked for, wrapped up in lots of talk about how we will have to have a sales tax if we want to raise more—or else just cut down on the cost of the war, skimp on the equipment for our fighters. We need a tougher tax program. We must fight to make Congress feel our determination to have more taxes now.

Washington

HELEN FULLER

Warren of California

UNNOTICED IN THE NEWS, William Randolph Hearst recently nominated his candidate for President of the United States—"handsome, strapping" Earl Warren, Governor of California. "Everywhere in the United States," to quote from an editorial in *The San Francisco Examiner*, "there is a growing awareness of and rising interest in Governor Earl Warren." Timing its announcement to coincide with that of the Hearst press, *The Los Angeles Times* has also begun to boom, in its own thunderous style, the candidacy of Governor Warren. The *Saturday Evening Post* of August 7, 1943, contained a piece in praise of Warren by Frank J. Taylor.

The Warren boom should receive careful attention, for it is not an idle or merely sentimental "favorite-son" ballyhoo. In case of a deadlock in the Republican convention, Warren unquestionably would be a likely dark-horse candidate for President. And, upon any reckoning, he is *the* most plausible Republican vice-presidential nominee. For California is an extremely important state—worth more electoral votes than most of the inter-mountain states combined—and Warren is, at this writing, a popular political figure in the state. Just who is Earl Warren and what (or who) makes him run?

Years ago Warren was singled out for future political favor by the most powerful industrial and financial cliques in California. They have always regarded him—and quite correctly—as their major "ace in the hole," their principal hedge against political disaster. For this reason, they have carefully built Warren up, as a political figure, over a period of years; and have seen to it that his record, on most major social and economic issues, is an almost perfect blank. He is not the type of candidate to be embarrassed by statements made, or positions taken, earlier in his career. He has made few

statements and, while invariably compliant toward these interests, has artfully avoided public commitments.

At the same time, Warren is completely the creature of the Hearst-Chandler-Knowland clique in the Republican Party in California; he is the darling of the Associated Farmers of California (although he is not too enthusiastic about their public support); and he is the particular pet of the great shipping, financial, agricultural and industrial interests of California. In California these interests have long since been synchronized into what is perhaps the smoothest functioning "big-business" machine in the nation. It took a long and bitter behind-the-scenes struggle—as the files of the La Follette Committee eloquently attest—to make the "die-hards" see the light of day. It was only after much persuasion that they were forced to give way to clever public-relations advisers, adroit industrial-relations counsellors and such astute legal minds as Gregory Harrison (of the Waterfront Employers' Association). For these die-hards were used to the ruthless methods of the Open Shop, the Red Squad and the Labor Frame-Up. They had grown bold and arrogant in the school of bribery, thuggery and the crudest variety of power-politics. But with the Epic campaign of 1934, the popular-front campaign of 1938 (which elected Culbert L. Olson), the spectacular rise of the powerful pension-plan movements and the increasing strength of organized labor, the smarter elements realized that ruthlessness must be eliminated in favor of cunning, that slickness must replace brazenness, and that dizzily conducted public relations must take the place of the old knock-their-teeth-out attitude. Nowadays such bastions of reaction as the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles have been virtually eliminated. They have long since been replaced by the slickest

streamlined front that big business has been able to create anywhere in the United States. Earl Warren is the front-man for this machine.

To groom him for this important role, the masterminds of the new industrial alignment had to execute a skillful job of political face-lifting. As a young lieutenant in the days of the old machine, Warren had become thoroughly enamored of the strong-arm methods that were then unquestioned. He had to be taught to smile, to beam, to be a good fellow; he had to be told the facts of life, such as, that labor-baiting (old style) was *passé*, that the pension movement was not necessarily subversive; and that he could afford to mention the CIO without sneering. He had to be taught to mouth—and it must have been a bitter tutelage for this essentially grim and hard-boiled individual—such phrases as “old-age security,” “collective bargaining” and “social planning.” But the advertising boys have done a pretty good job and he can now turn in a fairly acceptable performance as the Liberal Statesman. But to those who know him, his performance is unconvincing. For to such people, he has always been as he is today, the personification of Smart Reaction.

Two important episodes in his career serve to define the man behind the mask. On March 22, 1936, George W. Alberts, chief engineer of the freighter Point Lobos, was found stabbed to death in the cabin of the ship as it lay berthed across the bay from San Francisco. At this time the labor situation on the waterfront was extremely tense. Labor was insisting upon preserving the gains of the great 1934 strike; the waterfront employers were determined to smash the unions. No one paid much attention to the Alberts case, for the newspapers were full of labor news from the waterfront. Then, on August 27, three trade unionists—Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay and Frank J. Conner—were arrested on orders of Earl Warren, then district attorney of Alameda County. Conner was ship's delegate from the Point Lobos; Earl King was the leader of the Marine Firemen, Oilers', Watertenders' and Wipers' Association (which the Waterfront Employers' Association was trying desperately to alienate from the longshoremen); and Ramsay had organized the Fish Reduction Workers' Union. These men were charged, not with the murder of Alberts, but with having conspired to have him murdered. It was not charged that they had assaulted him or that they had so much as touched him. Indicted with them was a strange character out of the murky waterfront underworld of the period named George Wallace. On the

day Alberts was murdered, witnesses had seen Wallace on the Point Lobos. The King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee wanted to have Wallace tried separately, but their motion for a separate trial was denied. The committee then offered to provide Wallace with \$5,000 for counsel fees, if he would obtain an able and independent attorney. The offer was refused and Wallace elected—the announcement was made by Earl Warren—to be represented by the Public Defender. The entire case hinged on this man's testimony and The San Francisco Chronicle observed that the district attorney, in cross-examining Wallace, did so “with the solicitous care of a policeman helping an old lady across the street.”



A. Thim

The “jury” selected to try the case was, to say the least, remarkable. The jury commissioner who selected the panel testified that names were chosen from lists supplied by “various industrial plants, various social organizations, business houses, the Bank of America, the American Trust Company and the Central National Bank.” He was asked if he had requested the Central Labor Council to provide a list; he had not. Had he gone to any labor organization for names? He had not. One of the jurors finally selected was a Mrs. Julia Vickerson who testified that she “scarcely knew” Deputy District Attorney Wehr (who conducted the prosecution under Warren's direction). Two months after both Wehr and Mrs. Vickerson had sworn that they scarcely knew each other, Mrs. Vickerson loaned Wehr \$3,200. Other loans followed. In the course of two years after she sat on the jury that sent King, Ramsay and Conner to San Quentin, she had loaned Wehr the sum of \$15,376, as shown by a creditor's claim that she later filed against his estate.

In a petition for writ of habeas corpus (Criminal No. 4440), pending before the Supreme Court of the State of California, it is now alleged that prior to the trial of the case, Mrs. Vickerson had loaned Charles D. Wehr the sum of \$8,500, held his note for this amount and subsequently destroyed the note at his suggestion at the time of the trial. Introduced as an exhibit in the habeas-corpus proceeding is a photostatic copy of a memo in the handwriting of Mrs. Vickerson, a portion of which reads as follows:

The monies owed me by Chas. Wehr. Loan of 8,500 yr. 1936. Had note signed by Chas. but he advised me to destroy while the ship murder case was pending and then he would make a new note for me.

It is interesting to note that the Supreme Court, on July 7, 1943, appointed a referee to take testimony on the charges set forth in the petition for habeas cor-

pus. The petition charges that the facts with respect to the Vickerson-Wehr relationship were well known to Earl Warren, then district attorney, and that he approved the concealment of these facts.

When the case came on for trial, it was assigned to the courtroom of Judge Edward J. Tyrrell. One morning, without explanation, the case was transferred to the courtroom of Judge Frank M. Ogden. Ogden was a political protégé of Earl Warren; had served for years as a deputy district attorney under Warren; and had been promoted to the Superior Court on Warren's recommendation. Counsel for the defense offered to stipulate that the case might be heard by any judge of Alameda County other than Frank M. Ogden. The offer was refused; and the case proceeded to trial. Judge Ogden's comments upon the evidence were enough to convict the defendants—he virtually told the jury to convict them. As to the interest of the shipowners in the case, subsequent investigation revealed that important prosecution witnesses had for months been receiving regular remittances from the shipping firm of Swayne and Hoyt, the owners of the Point Lobos. The pattern of the Ship Murder case—the King-Ramsay-Conner case—is almost identical with that of the Mooney-Billings case and the Modesto case of 1935 (which a committee of the California legislature characterized as a frame-up). The man who engineered and supervised this prosecution (and who tried to conceal from the defense the important testimony of the witness Corrigan) and who still lovingly regards it as his major opus, is Earl Warren. (Before Governor Olson left office, the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles released King, Ramsay and Conner on parole.)¹

In the words of *The Satevepost*, this is the "serious-minded Horatio Alger character in flesh and blood" who still cherishes the membership card in the Musicians' Union which he joined when, as a youngster, he played the clarinet in a Bakersfield, California, band. It is a moving spectacle, this, of Warren taking out that old dog-eared trade-union card; of Warren reminiscing with the six children, without whom he is never

¹ Since this article was written, the referee appointed by the Supreme Court has concluded the hearings on the petition of George Wallace for the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus. At these hearings Mrs. Vickerson admitted having loaned Charles D. Wehr sums in excess of \$24,000. She has also admitted that she knew him when he made a contribution of \$750, from funds advanced by her, to one of Earl Warren's political campaigns. She has also testified that on Thanksgiving Day, 1936, Wehr told her she would have to stay on the jury and that if she refused to do so, he would be unable to repay the monies she had loaned. Aside from attempting to discredit her testimony under cross-examination, virtually no effort was made during the hearings to contradict her story. While it is true that direct evidence showing that Warren knew of these facts is lacking, still it will be interesting to see what, if any, effort he will now make to correct such an obvious injustice. The report of the referee, Judge Hartley Shaw, will be presented to the Supreme Court within the next few weeks. It is also interesting to note that not a single Los Angeles newspaper has carried so much as a reference to the hearings being conducted in San Francisco before Judge Shaw.

photographed these days, about those hard-bitten days of his youth when he played the clarinet. In fact, he still plays the clarinet—in that sour-note Republican orchestra that responds to the rhythmically directed baton of William Randolph Hearst. It is, indeed, a remarkable orchestra: the aged and embittered Hearst on the podium; the aging Chandler at the base viol; with Hoover at the kettledrums and Joe Knowland (of *The Oakland Tribune*) and Phil Bancroft in the brass section; and Warren tooting the clarinet.

Prior to the administration of Culbert L. Olson, the Supreme Court had always been a lawyer's court. After you had served the vested interests in the state for years in fighting labor unions, defeating social legislation in the courts and squabbling over water rights, tradition dictated that your last years should be spent, in semi-retirement, serving these same interests on the Supreme Court. Governor Olson determined to upset this tradition. One of his first nominations to the Supreme Court was Dr. Max Radin—an internationally famous legal scholar, for years instructor at the law school of the University of California, and a man respected throughout the state for his integrity and learning. But the appointment had to be confirmed by an advisory board of which Earl Warren, then Attorney General, was a member. Shortly before his nomination to go to the court, Dr. Radin had written a letter to a district attorney in the state urging clemency for a group of liberal social workers who had been found in contempt of a "Little Dies" committee of the legislature for refusal to turn over to this committee the membership lists of the trade union of which they were officials. Seizing upon this letter, Warren, by his vote, succeeded in blocking the appointment. His unconcealed animus in this case reveals the type of person he really is.

But Warren cannot be disposed of by illustrating his mean-natured and vindictive character. For it is not Warren who is to be feared so much as the powerful coterie of interests who succeeded in palming him off on the people of California as a "non-partisan" candidate for Governor. These advisers are responsible for the fact that Warren has made a popular Governor. The interests back of Warren realized that the pension movement in California had to be separated from its rather tentative alliance with labor. If this desirable end could only be accomplished at the price of increased pensions, then the price was cheap. So they permitted Warren to sign a somewhat liberalized pension measure which was obligingly approved by substantially the same legislature that had bitterly fought Olson's every attempt to obtain a more adequate old-age-pension system. The folklore of the state has it that "Warren knows how to work with the legislature," when, actually, it is a case of perhaps the most notoriously lobby-ridden legislature in Amer-

ica being obedient, now as always, to the interests that elected it. Warren's advisers also prompted him to declare a "labor truce," since, with production booming, they wanted no collision with organized labor.

As Governor of California in these lush days Warren has not faced a single problem of real magnitude. There has been no labor problem, no unemployment problem, no tax problem—even the ancient embarrassment of the Mooney-Billings case was obligingly removed by Governor Olson's pardon. The chief problem faced by Warren, in fact, has been the question of what to do with a disconcertingly large surplus of state funds. This problem he solved, quite in keeping with his past record, by reducing taxes instead of husbanding this windfall against the emergency demands of the post-war period. Under such circumstances, Miss Shirley Temple, aided by the same advisers and with the same newspaper support, could make a fairly popular Governor of California.

What Warren's advisers have succeeded in doing is to create the legend of an "able" administrator, a "strong man" and a "good fellow." In the vocabulary of the Warren apotheosis, the word "able" is worked to death. "Able Earl" is, in fact, likely to be a campaign slogan in 1944. They have kept Warren—and this has been an easy chore—conspicuously silent on every important issue of the day. What he thinks about post-war problems, about the necessity of an international organization to preserve peace, about planning for full production, remain among the darkest mysteries of our time. "We must return to the fundamentals," he said in a recent speech (The Los Angeles Times, August 18); "we must reattach ourselves to the old moorings—the family, the home, religion and free government. The more I think of this war, the more I am convinced that it all reduces itself to the dream of every good man and woman—the desire to have a home and a fireside—to have happy, healthy children, taught by a good mother the virtues of mankind as she might choose to interpret them from the Good Book." Such utterances are really provocative and bold for Warren; in his usual "able" vein he sticks tenaciously to the Coolidge platitudes. As a member of the Water Project Authority, he never lost an opportunity to whittle away at the broad social objectives underlying the concept of the great Central Valley Project. In speaking before the recent Conference of Governors at Columbus, he selected as his topic (at this track-meet of Republican candidates) the stupendously important problem of keeping the Japanese out of California. He not only wants the evacuees kept out of California for the duration, but he is unalterably opposed to any of them (including 70,000 American citizens) ever returning to California. This is not, however, such a bad political issue. It is one which, as a vice-presidential nominee assigned the specific task of swinging Califor-

nia into the Republican column in 1944, he can be relied upon to work overtime.

It is pure legend that this man is an "able administrator." He was a very mediocre Attorney-General of California. Despite his election pledges of an undying devotion to civil liberties, he refused to lift a hand when local law enforcement completely broke down during the Westwood lumber strike. Aside from this term of four years as Attorney-General, he has had no administrative experience. He has never practised law (except for a few months); and his experience has been limited to that of Republican Party machine politics and his duties as perennial district attorney of Alameda County. He reveres policemen, deputy sheriffs and investigators. When confronted with a major problem, his first reaction is to propose some "tightening up of law enforcement." He has been very adroit and successful in his relations with organized groups and has shown far more political finesse than his predecessor. But even the few measures, statements and acts for which he is rightfully entitled to credit are, in many cases, the inspiration of Robert W. Kenny, his successor as Attorney-General.

No one should discount the Warren candidacy because of this paltry record of achievement. For he is a possible Republican nominee for President and a better than two-to-one choice for Vice President. He has behind him the unified, coördinated and powerfully articulated force of *all* the important industrial and financial interests of the state. He has perhaps the ablest public-relations advisers of any candidate in the field, unlimited funds and the widest newspaper support. And at the moment he enjoys considerable prestige and popularity in California. Furthermore, by getting a delegation pledged to Warren in the field at this early date, the old guard hope to prevent Willkie from entering the California Republican primaries. (Willkie the other day called him "one of the great Governors"; let us hope that he spoke out of ignorance.) As a Republican vice-presidential nominee, this "non-partisan" Governor might well carry California for the party in 1944. President Roosevelt still retains much of his personal popularity in California, but the Democratic Party is nonexistent as a functioning political organization. It is shot through and through with feuds and torn apart by warring cliques and factions. The conservative Democrats (400,000 of whom voted for Warren in 1940) are, by and large, bitter Roosevelt-haters. It also seems likely that Culbert L. Olson will attempt to reassert his leadership over the party in California by organizing a delegation pledged to the President. This effort is not likely to produce unity within the party. The one leader with sufficient ability, prestige and popularity to accomplish this miracle is Robert W. Kenny, the present Attorney-General, who to date has shown no appetite for the assignment.

Los Angeles

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Housewife-War Worker

ON DECEMBER 7 last I gave my house a final cleaning, washed up the dinner dishes and went to work in an airplane factory, night shift, along with thousands of other housewives like myself. Before a week had passed I had a problem for Pegler, fearless champion of individual rights, albeit a problem in reverse. To wit: I wanted to join a union. I knew, from actual experience lasting throughout my childhood, how bitter and costly had been the fight for the right of labor to organize. I realized how much, as a worker, I would owe to the union: if a drill should break, fly off and put out my eye, as happened to Tom, one of my co-workers, workmen's compensation would, in some measure, compensate for my loss of earning power; I would not have to work 12 or 14 hours a day for less than \$2 per day, as my father had to 30 years ago, and be blacklisted, unable to obtain a job anywhere, if I tried to join a group of other workers to try for a squarer deal; my status as a part of industry would be something above that of a keg of nails, governed only by the law of supply and demand.

It was as well that I had taken Pegler's frightening reports of \$300 initiation fees, strong-arm methods and general bulldozing with a good-sized grain of salt; for as the days passed—nights rather, as our shift was from 7:30 P.M. to 6 A.M., 10 working hours with a half-hour for lunch on our own time—and no one even approached me with an inquiry as to whether or not I wanted to join a union, I began to wonder.

"Don't you have to join a union to work here?" I asked an older hand at a neighboring bench.

"Union! Don't say union around here! Some of the fellows got laid off for handing out leaflets about organizing, outside the plant after working hours. They don't want any part of unions around here!"

It might be worthy of note here that, with all the cry about absenteeism, industrial firms are still using enforced time off, without pay of course, as a disciplinary measure. You can get three to five days off for anything from sassing a foreman to coming to work drunk.

So there was my problem for Pegler, who at the moment was writing indignantly in his column over the plight of patriotic housewives like myself, ex-white-collar workers and small business men who would be forced willy-nilly to join a union in order to work. What about my rights in being denied the opportunity to join a union? Should I be as ruggedly individualistic as Pegler exhorts employers to be and quit my job and get another with a company that does recognize the right to organize, according to the law of the land?

But the War Manpower Commission lays down the law that you cannot quit one war job for another with-

out legitimate reason; seven such reasons are listed, but pro-union sympathies and a nagging anxiety that an immense industrial army is being built up that will eventually be used to destroy unions, are not among them. I have asked old union men if they are not worried about this situation, and they confess that they are, yes, especially in view of the fierce anti-union sentiment developing among our armed forces, but they don't want to make an issue of it now, or do anything to disrupt the war effort.

Mr. William Green, AFL president, not long ago voiced a thought that, I believe, almost all working people sincerely support in their hearts. He said that labor's right to strike was a weapon that should be buried for the war's duration, but that when the emergency was over it should be sharpened up again. Now, the anxious thought that keeps nagging a lot of us is that when the emergency is over it will be too late, for the weapon will have been rendered completely useless.

More and more the evidence is piling up that anti-union forces are taking advantage of the war, the nervous strain, emotional tension, confusion, to wreck the unions. There is, first, the very concrete weapon of this tremendous reservoir of non-union labor being trained in industry from the ranks of housewives, white-collar workers and salesmen forced out of their former occupations, who are, at the same time, being nursed in anti-union sentiments. This is done in the subtlest ways. Consider, as an example, the page advertisement taken recently in The New York Herald Tribune by a large company making war supplies in Cleveland. After praising the virtues of their company union, the ad quoted some of their workers. Mrs. Blank said: "My husband is fighting in North Africa. If I even mentioned the word 'strike' he would knock my head off." Mr. Doe said: "I have a son in the armed forces, and I'm going to see he gets the weapons he needs."

These people are no doubt perfectly sincere. But the fact was brought home to me all at once that most of the men and women actually fighting this war are of such an age that they do not remember the terrible and often bloody struggle that was waged by labor to win even the simplest beginnings of a square deal. Their memories date mostly from the Roosevelt era when labor, for the first time in history, seemed to have things coming its way. They know nothing of the long months of enforced starvation known as "seasonal unemployment" (my own family went through it, and my mother used to refer to it bitterly as "Papa's annual rest cure"), lasting from February or March right through until late summer. If these patriotic people

could realize what those "good old days" actually meant in terms of suffering to millions of our people, I do not think they would do what they are doing to help their sons and brothers back to such conditions.

Sometimes during our lunch period at the factory we turn to the "Letters to the Editor" columns of the newspapers and read there letter after letter from soldiers and their relatives, full of anger and bitterness and even threats to "come back and clean up" on us who are working to provide them with weapons. On another page there is a report of a speech by Rickenbacker, or, during his absence among the Soviets, Mrs. Rickenbacker, in which it is prophesied that "it will not be safe or pleasant for those workers" when our fighting men come back. Yet on the front page there is a story telling how war supplies are piling up in all corners of the world in such quantities that there are not enough warehouses to hold them. And there is our President's proud quoting of production figures—"I think the arsenal of democracy is making good." Do they, then, think that all this miracle of production is achieved by brownies and pixies? So far as I have been able to ascertain, the soldiers abroad have had no opportunity to read the letter from a miner's wife, which Mrs. Roosevelt printed in her column, telling about their income of \$800 to \$1,100 a year, or her statements offering quite creditable evidence that the drop in production now being complained about is due in large part to just such a campaign of hate and blame as we are meeting now, without any opportunity of presenting our side.

I, as an actual participant in the battle of production, which most of the loudest critics are not, can give a far more accurate picture than those self-made heroes who go about boasting that they "have *earned* their right to citizenship" (Captain Rickenbacker). I should like to point out to them that this "miracle of production" is in large part being performed by people who have never before set foot in a factory and who cannot within a few months' time adapt their systems to factory routines, even under the best of conditions. We are a company of old men, old women, young girls, former office-workers, chorus girls, domestic servants and physically handicapped young men. Almost any night you can go into the rest room and find half a dozen girls at a time white and sick over the basins from the acid fumes, the terrible nerve-shattering noise that never lets up, with constant sore throats and bronchial coughs from the metal dust. They bathe their faces with cold water and go back to their benches. For weeks I have been saying to an old man of seventy, "Ted, you simply must go see a doctor about that cough of yours," and he always answers, "I know I ought, but I know what the doc'll say—he'll say lay off for a few days, and I don't want to do that." It is a glaring inconsistency of those who do so much condemning of absenteeism that

they are also against overtime pay. If they could hear as often as I've heard, from some worker coming to work half-dead, "I didn't think I could drag myself out tonight, but I just can't afford to cut into my overtime," they would realize that overtime pay is the best incentive against absenteeism we have. But my own observation is that absenteeism for a day or two should be encouraged in a great many cases, in order to prevent a much longer period of absenteeism when the human mechanism at last breaks down and requires several weeks in bed to recover; a day or two out in the sun might have prevented that. For I have taken the trouble to look into a case of absenteeism among my own co-workers, and found that old George had sense enough to take a day off when he felt his nerves giving way; he hadn't been eating right—few of us are these days. He has to live in a furnished room far from his family, with no gas to go see them on Sundays. So he got a day's work pruning hedges, to the gratitude of the hedge owner who is unable to find a gardener, got himself some sunshine and a square meal, and came back to work a new man. Whereas I, foolishly, kept right on working until a germ caught up with me, and I was out for three weeks.

It was a great disappointment to me, when the Truman Committee made a tour of our plants, that Senator Ball, who used to be a newspaperman himself, and a good one, they say, failed to make use of his reportorial eye. For had he noticed certain large placards which were posted prominently throughout the plant, and made some public comment on them, he might have done much to stop the slanderous talk that the factories were hide-outs for draft-dodgers, another sore point with soldiers and sailors. The placards appealed to the young men—few though there were remaining with us—not to enlist in the armed forces, pointing out in the most persuasive words that their duty to their country could best be served by sticking to their jobs and turning out war weapons, and appealing to their patriotism to wait until they were called up by their draft boards. Since our company found it necessary thus to try to stem the tide of enlistments, the "draft-dodger," "soft-berth" talk sounds a little silly.

This is not to say that there are no gold-brickers, loafers or draft-dodgers in our ranks. Far from it. After all, we are people from all walks and conditions of life, with as many and various principles and backgrounds as you will find in the army and navy themselves. In fact, when I read Joseph Driscoll's account in The New York Herald Tribune in which he told of a commanding officer's problems with the misfits, the cowards and slackers in uniform on his warship, I thought that probably the percentage was just about the same in the factory as in the army or navy. But if anyone were to blacken the entire armed forces because of these few, as some have blackened all of us civilian soldiers, he would be publicly flayed. GENE DICKSON

Washington Notes

The Tax Battle

THERE WAS A QUEER GAP in The New York Times's Washington coverage of the tax hearings last week. The story was front-page news all week except Friday, when it jumped deep, deep inside. Oddly enough, the story on that day was how Fred Vinson, the economic stabilizer, told the House Ways and Means Committee that it would be almost impossible to prevent all-round cost-of-living increases if Congress instituted a sales tax. It is doubtless only a coincidence that The Times is ardently battling for a sales tax. No doubt on account of the exigencies of make-up, it relegated Vinson's attack on page 26, between the sports and financial sections, and ran it for less than a column.

Nevertheless, the Vinson testimony is as important in its implications as any other in the brief committee hearings. It marked the climax of two days of earnest appeal for emergency action. Here is what happened. Rep. Jere Cooper (D) of Tennessee asked Vinson whether he believed he could "hold the line against inflationary price demands by workers and farmers if a 10-percent sales tax is imposed." Mr. Vinson paused impressively. Then he answered, with sober emphasis, "No, I don't think so."

Mr. Cooper put the question again. "Then it is your considered judgment that the pressure would be too great and you could not hold the line?" Just as deliberately Mr. Vinson responded, "That is my judgment."

Mr. Vinson had been stressing for two days the terrific inflationary pressure now building up in America. Prices have been temporarily held, even forced back, but more inflation is appearing around the edges. Unless some of the pressure is removed by much heavier taxation, Vinson contends, the black market may get out of hand. And here was his judgment against the sales tax toward which Congress was veering—a judgment comparable on the economic front to a statement on military strategy by Eisenhower.

The personalities of the tax testimony are important in themselves for an understanding of what is going on. Mr. Vinson brought moral fervor to his appeal for the Treasury program, which Secretary Morgenthau, a day earlier, had presented lackadaisically. Morgenthau is essentially a timid, peace-loving man, who tries to mask his shyness by attempts at casualness, in this instance nibbling raisins through the ordeal. The raisins were shared with Treasury expert Randolph Paul, a little, falcon-faced man with ash-gray hair, who drops figures from his fingertips. Lacking a fighting Secretary, Mr. Paul perforce carried the burden of presentation himself, but with the handicap of his position.

Paul has a counterpart on the committee, another expert, frequently pitted against him. This is Colin F. Stam, chief of staff of the joint congressional tax committee. Stam is a fat and jolly friar of a man, wearing a very black lock coiled over the front of a very bald dome, producing a conspicuous tonsure. Stam is a potentially important figure in the great new controversy because, in the committee's

own internal confusion and its deadly hostility to whatever the Treasury proposes, it is apt to listen to the shrewd suggestions of pliant Brother Stam. The one ringing witness in the brief hearing was Fred Vinson. He seemed terribly in earnest. As he summed it up, "The American people do not want luxury and ease while their sons are dying." As he concluded, Representative Knutson (R) of Minnesota argued that the "inflationary gap" is all a myth.

Outsiders may not understand the intense interest of Washington observers in the introduction of ex-Governor Stassen's name in the Nebraska primary. Mr. Stassen may withdraw; but even if he does it will be something to watch, while if he doesn't it may be quite important. The point is that Willkie has got the Republican leaders scared. He wrested the nomination from them once and, if they don't do something about it, he may again. The obvious strategy is to put up somebody against Willkie who is like Willkie, and thereby split the liberal wing. Almost certainly this will be done. If it is not Stassen, it will be somebody else. This does not mean that Stassen is consciously playing the Tory leaders' game, or that he is not one of the ablest men on the Republican side. But it is under such a type of contest that the Pews and Spanglers would thrive best. In the upper councils of the party, as distinct from the rank and file, the conservatives have the majority. With liberals split, they might not even bother to give the nomination to Dewey (who seems, at the moment, the most logical man). They might go back to Bricker after all.

As a prelude to the three-power conference, Senator Lodge, following his globe-girdling trip with four other Senators, has rushed out with a charge that failure to get Siberian air bases from Russia may cost 1,000,000 American casualties. The other returned Senators are having a field-day too, largely with criticisms of Britain, some possibly justified, some unjustified and all necessarily based on fragmentary evidence. The more reckless charges, like the "plot" story against General Marshall, are so contrary and confusing that there is some hope they will bring a reaction. There is the hope too, that the self-evident need of keeping the Senate better informed on all sorts of matters, will crystallize out into something constructive.

Edward Stettinius, new Undersecretary of State, is press-conscious. Nice little thank-you notes go out to correspondents for favorable comment. . . . Navy men wonder if the Japanese fleet will fight. In any event, they expect more big news soon from the Pacific, where the Wake raid and the Pearl Harbor conference of Admirals King, Nimitz and Halsey are only the openers. . . . Directors of the American Society of Newspaper editors went home from their conference here satisfied that the military authorities are free to run their own war, not influenced by political interference. . . . Next big congressional anti-administration drive will be against the OWI, charging failure on the foreign-propaganda front. . . . Neatest touch of the week: the Treasury's statistical table for proposed post-war tax refunds on \$5,000,000-a-year incomes. Proposed Treasury tax: \$4,786,570. Proposed post-war refund: \$250.

Washington

T. R. B.

The Hero

THE HERO in American movies fluctuates between two idealized personalities, whose common bond is an allegiance to Superman. One, the older, is a mixture of Abe Lincoln, Dick the Chimney Sweep and a cowboy, in which goodness and lonesome bravery are the main ingredients. The other is a belligerent, egocentric character who is as malevolent and aggressive as the other is pure of heart and backward; in the gangster-movie days he was called Blackie, now he is called by names like Rick, Joe Rossi and Sam Spade. He is acted mainly by Humphrey Bogart, but also by John Garfield, Alan Ladd, Brian Donlevy and George Raft.

The older-fashioned hero is a long-bodied, long-armed man whose air is one of troubled silence, and who grew up in the bleaker parts of the country to be shy, honest and not given to excesses. He doesn't seek success, but because he is a physical genius he reaches the hero class and performs there as a good honest man would. He is probably the most likable person to see winning so many rewards, especially when his person is that of Gary Cooper (who had as much to do with shaping this movie personality as anyone else), Jimmy Stewart or Henry Fonda. His career, which the earliest pioneer first hacked out and which Hemingway revived by opening new worlds for him to conquer, is apt to be an untroubled one of physical superiority; but the faint tinge of tragedy latent in his personality sometimes leads at the end of the picture to the fact that he or his wife will die or that he must leave her in some far-off desert oasis, singing in a cabaret, to prove that the twain of East and West cannot meet for very long. Though he seems made for lonely nights out on the range, the picture of his love life is always one of wholesome, perfect, physical compatibility, and he is a conscientious, non-professional lover. He is seldom bothered about money, since he works outside the civilized world of business, and his few excursions into that world are in the roles of philanthropist or savior ("Mr. Deeds," "Mr. Smith").

The hero played by Mr. Bogart, which grew out of the gangster film and Dashiell Hammett detective novels, looks as though he had been knocked around daily and had spent his week-ends drinking himself unconscious in the back rooms of saloons. His favorite grimace is a hateful pulling back of the lips from his clenched teeth, and when his lips are together he seems to be holding back a mouthful of blood. The people he acts badly toward and spends his movie life exposing as fools are mainly underworld characters, like gangsters, cabaret owners and dance-hall girls (and the mayor whom he puts into office every year). Everything he does carries conflicting quantities of hatred and love, as though he felt you had just stepped on his face but hadn't meant it. His love life is one in which the girl isn't even a junior partner in the concern, his feeling about life is that it is a dog kennel, and he believes completely in the power of the money which he steals or works everyone else's fingers to the bone to earn. He is the soured half of the American dream, which believes that if you are good, honest and persevering you will win the kewpie doll.

The character of this hero, who is the spit and image of hate-thy-neighbor, and who only milks human kindness, is nevertheless as popular as the nobler hero played by Gary

Cooper. His mutilated good looks, plain, unbecoming clothes and slight stature are easier to project oneself into than the cowboy godliness of Mr. Cooper, and his vicarious, purple screen life is closer to one's own day-dreaming of the most pleasurable kind of existence than the rigidly plain, pure one of Messrs. Deeds, Smith and Doe. Also Bogart lacks the forlorn pensiveness which, in Cooper, Fonda and Stewart, has a subtle poetry far less reassuring to movie audiences than his own noisy violence in which nothing is hidden. And in a world where so many people are doing things they dislike doing, Bogart expresses the hostility and rebellion the existence of which the Cooper tradition ignores. What the characters share are successful lives of extreme action, free of the routine matter of existence, which are carried out in dramatic places like a night club in Casablanca, in a cave in Spain or on the baseball field at Yankee Stadium, and which contain the untroubled string of physical victories that Hollywood feels Americans need and desire.

For the basic likeness is that both are men of action, with as little emphasis as will make sense on thought and emotion. Cooper's screen life is taken up with proving his efficiency as a soldier, cowboy, baseball player, explorer, sea captain, adventurer and lover, and he seems unnatural only when he has also to stand for a message to mankind, as he did in "For Whom the Bell Tolls," or as a father, or when he has to show something lush or heartfelt in the way of emotion (the response being equivalent to tickling the mountain faces Gutzum Borglum carved). The main factor in all of Bogart's careers of daring is his toughness—at one point in each movie he takes a horrible beating, but like a wrestler bounds back as good as new—and his ingenuity in a brawl. His movies are the ultimate in evil fighting methods, and he is a master of the surprise hold or kick, which takes a minimum of muscle and energy. For both of them it is the doing of the thing rather than the thinking it up or reacting to it that is important.

The anti-intellectual, anti-emotional and pro-action life of these heroes is in the historical American pattern, and perfectly suited to the movies, where movement and gesture are of so much importance (it is one that the Hollywood producer has embraced so wholeheartedly that he sees it as the only definition of cinematic movement). It is interesting to note that though the heroes have always been active, they have not always looked that way. D. W. Griffith's heroes had sensitive, wistful faces, probably because Griffith dealt in stories whose heroes were hurt by society; then came an era when the gigolo face of Valentino or Novarro or Gilbert was thought appropriate both for lovers and adventurers; in the early thirties producers discovered that their stage-adopted habit of using cosmetics on the actor's faces devitalized them, and the eye-penciling, hair-greasing and lipsticking was given up, with the result that the faces suggested aggression rather than passivity, the great outdoors rather than the boudoir.

Cooper and Bogart, the champions of their particular weights, are the reverse and obverse sides of the biggest, the most golden medal Hollywood has for heroes. Whatever may be said about the *type* of personality they play, they, as particular personalities, override any conventional facts in their screen life because they have the rich, visual vitality of which the greatest movie heroes will always be made.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

As to the honesty and integrity of our distinguished colleague from Georgia [Eugene Cox] there is no question. He is above reproach. . . . You and I, my colleagues, have today witnessed the greatest act of personal sacrifice that any man has ever made who has ever been a member of this distinguished body.—*Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, speaking in the House on Representative Cox's withdrawal (under fire) as chairman of the committee investigating the FCC, as quoted in The Congressional Record.*

We do not dislike New Dealers as citizens. We are only opposed to their principles of government, their methods and their ideals.—*From an address by Alfred H. Cosden, president of the Union League Club, to his fellow members.*

All Spanish political prisoners over 70 years of age will gain conditional liberty under new laws approved by the cabinet and announced today by Generalissimo Francisco Franco.—*AP dispatch from Madrid.*

Such As?

There was, to be sure, an unmistakable undertone of complaint at the barriers which prevent the Negro's fullest partici-

pation in the war effort, and in American life in general. But the main theme of the conference [National Urban League]—and the job to which it seemed to set itself—appeared as more down to earth.—*Turner Catledge in The New York Times.*

Signs and Portents

The Swiss correspondent of a Swedish newspaper reports that wealthy Germans recently have smuggled large quantities of precious jewels and valuable paintings into Switzerland.—*From PM.*

Orchids to Marshall

Marshall [Field] went to Eton and two years to Cambridge and even today talks more like a cultured Englishman than a Chicago gangster.—*From The Milwaukee Journal.*

On the Home Front

Consequently many [girls] found it necessary to attend all the rush teas in the dress they had worn on the train. As an explanation to the [sorority] houses that Jane Smith did have more than one dress, the pan-hellenic council sent out a list of the girls whose baggage had not yet arrived. On this note, the university begins its second year of wartime education.—*From a story on the opening of the fall term at the University of Arizona, in The Arizona Daily Star (Tucson).*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

What Makes Race Riots Possible

SIR: Without question our greatest social disgrace of many years have been the Los Angeles "zoot-suit" riots and the race riots in Detroit and Texas. The police departments were only exceeded by the press in the shocking competition for first place as principal accessories to the crime. Back of the encouragement which they extended to the mobs that roamed our streets lay the emotionally deep-seated sanction of a large proportion of our citizens.

The riots had their origin in many different sources. . . . But they were possible for only one reason, and that is that there is a sanction in public prejudice, however falsely grounded, for this lawless behavior. . . . No mobs form any more unless they feel that they have back of them a justification in principle which is shared by a large part of the community.

The human race in its long history has not lost any of its savage impulses but it has acquired a system of customs, laws and standards. This system serves to curb savagery except when the mob can find a means of justifying its unleashed violence in that very ground of established beliefs and customs. What I mean to say is that there are certain beliefs and customs current among us which permitted the savage aggressions of a group of our people to express themselves with the assurance that while they were stripping zoot-suiters of their pants and beating them into insensibility, they were acting in accordance with certain ideas of the right thing to do. They, in fact, conceived of themselves as nobly preserving certain fundamental principles.

I therefore submit that if we do not wish to see a continuation and an increase of similar riots we must systematically remove the sanctions in our social beliefs upon which these actions depend. It is easier to name these sanctions than it is to correct them, but it is a good first step. They are: first, the myth of racial difference; second, the well nurtured error of the superiority

of some races over others; and third, the common folklore that criminal behavior is a hereditary and racial trait. . . .

Our fundamental problem then is to wipe out these underlying premises; to cut the ground of social sanction and justification from under the feet of those who practise race violence.

It means conducting a systematic campaign of public education in our schools, our press and our movies. It means lectures and instruction by scientists in the true scientific facts of "race," and it means calling the turn whenever a police inspector reports that the zoot-suiters are "of racially criminal inheritance."

It may be hoping for a miracle to expect that our public officials could achieve such enlightenment, but we should make the effort to bring the facts even to them. Folk beliefs are hard to kill, but we have before us the examples of vaccination, public sanitation and the syphilis campaigns. It should be possible to achieve as much in the realm of social epidemics.

Los Angeles, Calif.

JACOB I. ZEITLIN

The Anti-Poll Tax Bill

SIR: The enclosed clipping from a recent issue of The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot speaks for itself:

Not only is the anti-poll-tax bill . . . unconstitutional, in the opinion of most lawyers and all laymen who have read Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, but its effect would be bad on its merits, the Norfolk Kiwanis Club was told yesterday by Braden Vandeverter, local attorney.

Vandeverter said it was never the intention of the authors of the Constitution to set up a democracy in the United States, but a qualified democracy based on the republican representative system. In the light of their intentions, voting never has been a "cheap right" enjoyed by all, but a privilege accorded to the worthy. . . .

Elimination of the poll-tax restriction on voting would be a

long step toward universal suffrage, Vandeventer said, a system which, if it were imposed by federal authority as an infringement on traditional states' rights, would be an unmixed evil, leading perhaps to conditions similar to those existing in Reconstruction days. . . .

Needless to say, the expression of such sentiments by an educated and probably respectable American is discouraging to all of us who really believe that we are fighting for a better, freer world. The battle against such ideas and philosophies at home is as important as the battle abroad. You are doing more than your share.

Norfolk, Va.

D. R. GIDNEY

Overtime Pay in Banks

SIR: In the great campaign against labor someone should tell how New England, upstate New York and other banks, those institutions of faith and integrity, figure overtime pay.

It is a complicated scheme, but the heart of it is this: A clerk or stenographer gets \$25 per week. He works 45 hours, i. e., 5 hours overtime. So the bank divides \$25 by 45 hours to find how much the clerk is paid per hour!

But there is more to it than that, so that the employees in this town don't know just what is happening to them. Thus, one worked a half-hour overtime and got 18 cents for the half-hour's work! It always comes out ridiculously. . . .

Utica, N. Y.

ROBERT MCILHENNY

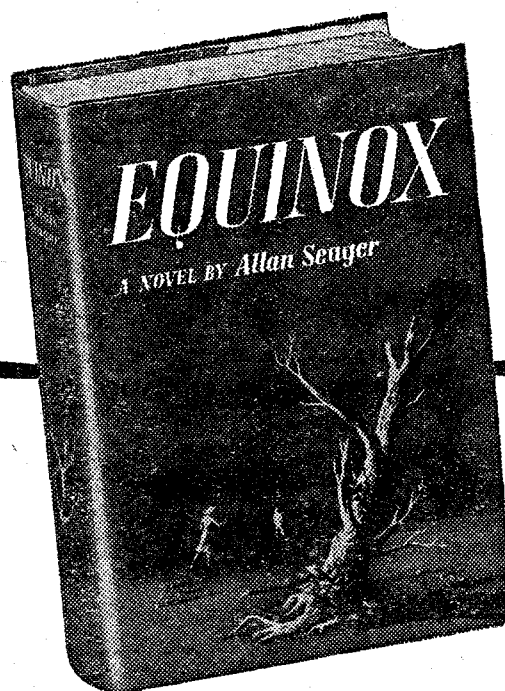
From The New Republic Mail Bag

Emanuel Nowogrodsky writes to us as American representative of the General Jewish Workers' Union of Poland and also as an anti-Zionist. He says the Jewish workers of Poland for whom he speaks want to stay in Poland and fight out the battle for equality of treatment. In the meantime, they ask from the rest of the world help against Hitler's policy of assassination.

Leo Huberman writes on behalf of the National Maritime Union of America enclosing copies of letters to Collier's Weekly and The New York World-Telegram replying to editorials which Mr. Huberman considers unfair to the NMU. He also encloses copies of several letters from naval officers and officials of shipping lines testifying to the excellent work done by NMU members.

Albert C. Clark, of Fort Scott, Kansas, describes his experiences with a mob in El Dorado, Missouri, a town of some two thousand population. "... On March 13, 1943, ... a mob of about a dozen boys and women were holding in their hands literature published by Jehovah's Witnesses. I was standing close by. I am a veteran of World War I ... served in France. ... I am not a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, nor do I personally know any of the members of that religion. However, I do not believe in mob law. ... "The mob's leader ordered "Grab them!" and when Clark intervened in behalf of the Jehovah's Witnesses, the mob began to attack him. He was beaten about the head and body and forced over a wall, fracturing his left foot in the fall. Mr. Clark claims that the City Marshal was present while he was being beaten, but made no arrest. Clark spent close to four months at a veterans' hospital and is "yet a long way from complete recovery." An investigation has finally been begun.

Atwood H. Townsend, executive secretary, writes to call our attention to the Third Free World Congress, which will meet in New York City, October 28 to 31. The general theme will be how to realize the four freedoms and the danger that reactionary governments may be established in Europe and elsewhere. Full details can be obtained from Free World, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City.



Clifton Fadiman in The New Yorker says: "Full of extraordinary scenes and characters, rendered with an extraordinary intensity. 'Equinox' has a bitter-aloes flavor quite unlike anything you're apt to have encountered in fiction of late. Better try it."

The New York Herald-Tribune Books says: "'Equinox' is a remarkable novel in candor, depth, and richness. The situation of Mary and her father is drawn with both dignity and delicacy. This book marks Allan Seager as a novelist of importance."

The New York Times Book Review says: "In this intelligent novel a father-daughter relationship ties together a series of sketches and portraits, some brilliantly good, all intensely readable. This relationship is conceived with the greatest insight and honesty."

The Book-of-the-Month Club News says: "Anyone who enjoys mental shudders will find them aplenty in Allan Seager's psychological problem novel. The story is told with brilliance, subtlety, and sophistication."

John Chamberlain in Harper's Magazine says: "Tragic situations are handled with such sympathy and human understanding, and told by such a master storyteller, that the book assumes real stature and importance."

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Books in Review

American Thinking

THE PUBLICATION of "The Growth of American Thought,"¹ by Merle Curti, is an important event in the history of American scholarship. It is also an important event in the development of American democracy. Not since the appearance of Parrington's "Main Currents in American Thought" in 1927 has there come from our press a work of comparable significance in the field. And the task which Parrington set for himself was far less ambitious and difficult than that which Curti has undertaken.

This volume of more than eight hundred pages is no pot-boiler. Neither is it a response to the interest of the moment in the fortunes of our democracy. It is the product of years of patient and original investigation into the past of our people by one of the most penetrating and sensitive minds of our generation.

It is difficult in a brief review to convey to the reader any idea of the richness of this work—of its breadth of conception, its vast erudition, its social insights, its simple integrity. Every one of its twenty-eight chapters might well be made the subject of a separate review. Each opens to the mind a subject generous in its proportions and provocative in its contents. All the present reviewer can hope to do therefore is to write a sort of introduction to a review.

First of all, the reader should know that this is no ordinary history of American thought. It is not an account of an intellectual chess game played on the North American continent over a period of three centuries by a group of experts—an account of the course of abstract and disembodied ideas unrelated to conditions of life and the interests of men and women. Nor is it an account of the history of any intellectual class. On the contrary, it is an account of the growth of the thought of all the American people from Jamestown to Pearl Harbor, as shaped by the various factors and forces—geographical, economic, social and personal—of American history. It is in fact what Professor Curti intended it to be, "a *social* [italics mine] history of American thought."

This means that the work is not merely a history of social thought. To be sure, it does not neglect this field; but it also reaches out to include man's thought about the world and himself, about his origin and destiny, about the true, the good and the beautiful. It includes the growth of thought in the fields of technology, natural science, philosophy and theology.

Being a social history, it presents the growth of thought as a process involving the life and interactions of the various groups and classes of American society—freemen and slaves, patricians and plebeians, farmers and townsmen, merchants and mechanics, planters and capitalists, employers and employees, creditors and debtors, landlords and

sharecroppers, advertisers and consumers, men and women, the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the good and the bad, the wise and the foolish. Also Jews and Christians, Catholics and Protestants, Unitarians and Shakers, believers and unbelievers, communists and individualists, whites and Negroes, Nordics and Latins, Mexicans and Indians, and the many other sects, races and nationalities that have come to or emerged in America during three centuries.

Also, being a social history, it includes in the record the work of those institutions through which the growth of American thought has been facilitated or conditioned. It tells the story of the contribution of churches and seminaries, schools and colleges, academies and research institutes, and all agencies deliberately designed to promote the advancement and dissemination of knowledge. But it also brings into the account the role of the press, of newspapers, periodicals and books, of bookshops, libraries and museums, of forums, debating societies and literary and scientific clubs, of the theatre and the cinema, of roads and highways, of communication and transportation, of trade unions and various voluntary economic and civic organizations and associations. Professor Curti even considers the part played by popular ballads and Fourth of July orations, by crossroads taverns and meeting-houses, by towns and cities. The work of each of these agencies is considered as it bears upon the central purpose of the volume—the growth of American thought.

It should not be inferred from the above that America is treated in isolation from the rest of the world. Although Professor Curti rightly stresses the role of forces and conditions operating on the North American continent, he recognizes fully the influence of other peoples and cultures—through common origins, through common languages, through migration, travel, study and commerce. He emphasizes the fact that for generations the American people were dependent on the mother countries of Europe in many areas of thought, that again and again, from the days of the English Puritans to the days of the Russian Communists, they have been shaken and affected by events and movements beyond the oceans.

Professor Curti has not only given us a refreshing and fascinating account of the intellectual growth of the American people. Through his social approach he has illuminated many questions in the sphere of social theory. That of the relation between ideas and interests may be taken as an example. The student may find abundant evidence, if properly selected, in this volume to support the extreme doctrine that ideas are inevitably the mere instruments of group or class economic interests. The formulation of an appropriate body of thought to sustain a so-called "natural aristocracy" by John Adams, the institution of Negro slavery by John C. Calhoun, or the concentration of wealth by Theodore Woolsey would seem to lend credence to this doctrine. Yet, in the course of American history equally great names from the same groups or classes can usually

¹The Growth of American Thought, by Merle Curti. New York: Harper and Brothers, 848 pages. \$5.

be found in opposition. Moreover, Professor Curti's studies reveal the power of thought patterns to persist in the face of apparently overwhelming odds. No one holding any simple doctrinaire position on the social process can get much comfort from this book.

Professor Curti concludes his account of the growth of American thought on a note of uncertainty. Pointing out that the early distrust of the powers of common people was rather generally dispelled in America by the end of the nineteenth century, he observes that during the present period of worldwide crisis, war, revolution and counter-revolution some of the old doubts are returning. At least he states that today "no one can say with certainty" that our old democratic faith can meet successfully the challenge of the struggle for power and the sweep of totalitarian doctrines. No thoughtful person can take exception to this sober and sobering observation.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

Consolations of Poetry

The Wide Net and Other Stories, by Eudora Welty. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 214 pages. \$2.50.

THE WIDE NET," a collection of eight stories, urges comparison with Eudora Welty's earlier work. "A Curtain of Green," forecasting her present development, showed a taste for the mildly fantastic, an eye, more than an ear, for an objective poetry of mood and the symbols of mood, and a considerable ease and variety in her treatment of the short-story form. She had many styles at her command: ironic reportage, a still-life intensity, a humor fond of the neuroses and degeneracies in Southern life. She held these styles impersonally and loosely, unsure of her ultimate intentions, sure only of her talent, which she employed with an artiness that gave her gropings an air of finality.

Beginning with "The Robber Bridegroom" (full-fledged in the present volume) her artiness becomes estheticism. "The Wide Net" strikes you at once with its silence. Except in the title story, her characters are largely engaged in flashbacks and in reveries; words are written down, not spoken. She now ignores the resources of Southern speech—in "First Love" even selecting the point of view of a deaf boy where she misses, in addition to sound, all the dramatic possibilities inherent in Aaron Burr's trial and escape from Natchez—in order to ring in a poetry of her own, off beat, in any rhythm, with the swing of actual talk. It is a poetry of textures that are never felt, of glass leaves and glass birds; and what remains of her prose is given over to the creation of characters, soliloquizing in the manner of minor Elizabethan dramatists. This is not to suggest that a departure from naturalism is necessarily a loss. What she has lost is a clear, engaging quality of immediate presence and appeal, sacrificed to an esthetic of presentation.

Nevertheless, one of her new stories, "A Still Moment," is perfectly successful, achieving its tense beauty even while it is so painfully bent on creating a genre for itself. It tells of Audubon, the naturalist, out wandering through Natchez country where he comes upon a murderer and an itinerant preacher viewing a sunset. The preacher is a madman of God, of wild love in the Divine Presence. The murderer

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The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

is a master of his trade, an artist with a cynical flair in his knowledge of the meaning of murder. Audubon draws a bead on the bird, killing it in its beauty in order to advance his studies. This deed is revelatory. The romantic artist (it is in this capacity rather than as naturalist that Audubon enters the story) is shown preëempting the impulses of less perfect men to unite love and death in his art.

This may not be Eudora Welty's first dissertation on the nature of the artist—the composite symbolism of "The Robber Bridegroom" makes a nod in that direction—but it is, definitely, her most conscious "problem-story" that takes the activity of the artist as its scope. The theme alone is significant of the development she is undergoing, a development which represents a growth of artistic self-consciousness to the point of an exclusive preoccupation. An esthetic involution takes place. The world is no longer the source and central point of her art (a position it retains even in the fantasies of Kafka) but has become an incidental background related to her writing only by the beauty it may occasionally share with her prose. Imagination grows too careful, too tight and exact; invention becomes too much of a burden and sensation is easier to sustain. But sensation comes without feeling. The latter is available only through the provisions of a formal pattern, which means that emotion grows cold waiting, entering art only by condescension. The formalities must be observed. So art passes into a desperate, dead-end estheticism; writers become the creatures of their own activity, losing not so much of naturalism as of nature.

But there is a motive to such writing. It does not spring of itself, straight from the head. Even the purest esthetic, whatever it may gloss over in psychological content, is shot through with anxiety. For the writer who exchanges centers with the world, focusing his attention on artistry, runs a great risk. There is the risk of incommunicability; the risk of the trivial; the risk of losing emotional reference, that human closeness which gives good writing the feeling of standing on the brink of great discoveries. This anxiety is implicit in Eudora Welty's work; fearing she may have lost the heart of her experience, she forces a compensatory poetry upon her prose.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

The TVA

The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Study in Public Administration, by C. Herman Pritchett. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 333 pages. \$3.50.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY was always looked upon as a spectacular chapter in the story of man's struggle with nature. The gigantic dams, the bold effort to save the soil and the creation of vast quantities of "white coal" are indubitably signposts on the way to a new society. These are its tangible manifestations and it is a great temptation to write lyrically of them. Yet few commentators have thought of the TVA as an education in public administration. Most were generally content to praise the program of physical reconstruction and blithely omitted administrative technique as a field too tedious to explore. Mr. Pritchett's book, therefore, is to be welcomed, for it is a superb study of the art of public administration in action. He by no means ignores the TVA program. About half the

book is concerned with flood control, soil conservation and regional planning. The emphasis, however, is placed upon the practices employed to fulfill the aims for which the TVA was established.

When we realize what the southern Appalachian region was like before 1933, the ultimate worth of the TVA is considerably magnified. Here was an area perennially afflicted with soil erosion and exhaustion, deforestation and uncontrollable floods, and literally being washed down the river. Piecemeal remedies were entirely inadequate; an integrated program, as Pritchett points out, was imperative if we were to keep the "river off the land and the land out of the river." Out of the need for a manifold solution came the TVA's multiple-purpose program.

The story of the TVA begins in the canal-building days of the 1830's, when the earliest attempts were made to improve navigation on the Tennessee River. It was not until the First World War, however, that the area came into real prominence. The need for nitrates at that time emphasized our domestic shortages and impelled the construction of hydroelectric dams and synthetic nitrate plants. In Mr. Pritchett's able recital of the TVA's history the reader is made to realize the enormous debt of gratitude we owe to George W. Norris. When many figures in public life were venal, Senator Norris remained the outstanding leader in the fight to keep the resources of the Tennessee Valley for the people.

Mr. Pritchett's discussion of electric-power distribution and of the legal battles it generated makes exciting reading. But the most dramatic section of the book tells of the strange case of Dr. Arthur T. Morgan. Dr. Morgan, an able administrator, was a member of the TVA's original board of directors together with David E. Lilienthal and Harcourt A. Morgan. He was, according to the author, unfortunately dominated by an authoritarian desire to run the affairs of the TVA alone. The inevitable clashes with the other directors finally culminated in his removal by President Roosevelt. A congressional investigation followed which happily vindicated Lilienthal and H. A. Morgan and halted, temporarily at least, the legislative wolves who were only too anxious to destroy the TVA.

The primary lesson the TVA holds for us, Pritchett claims, rests in its peculiar form of organization. As a semi-autonomous government corporation, not subject to any of the regular executive departments, it has been able to perform for its specific area the functions of several. Freed of the petrifying requirements of civil service, it nevertheless has been successful in acquiring a highly skilled staff while avoiding the pitfalls of the patronage system. The "reasonable measure of autonomy" wisely granted to the TVA has given its people an *esprit de corps* conspicuously lacking in many another agency.

Yet with all his clear understanding of the regional approach exemplified by the TVA, Mr. Pritchett hesitates to extend its method to other areas of the nation. He intimates that conflicts with existing government agencies would result. If that is true, would it not be preferable to alter our departmental structure rather than to permit the benefits of regional-resource development to await the settlement of disputes between agencies? The question, however, is a moot one and the shortcoming it reveals in the author's attitude toward regionalism in no way detracts from the value of his book.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

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War and Psychiatry

Psychiatry in War, by Emilio Mira. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 206 pages. \$2.75.

IT IS A SAD COMMENTARY on our psychiatry that we should have to go to Adolf Hitler rather than to our medical men to learn how "to put masses into motion." The current narrowness of conception of the proper function of psychiatry in wartime has been noted by others. For the most part psychiatry has contented itself with trying to weed out from the armed services potential mental casualties, an effort which has been only partially successful, and with diagnosing and disposing of such casualties after they occur within the services. Problems of prevention, of mental hygiene and the maintenance of morale are given little attention. In a recent address the last president of the American Psychiatric Association took pride in the fact that one specially qualified neuro-psychiatrist had been appointed as liaison officer to the Army's Morale Division.

In a recent bitter critique of American psychiatry and the Selective Service system, for which he acted as psychiatric adviser for a period, Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan expressed serious doubt that young psychiatrists will be content to envisage a life of more or less ameliorated care for practically incurable victims of severe mental disorders. He does not believe that the post-war public will long respect a branch of medicine which can salvage little or nothing from the vicissitudes of living, but only supervise human wreckage that need not have gone on to this grim end, and which

busies itself converting disturbed mental patients into vaguely amiable morons with the currently fashionable "shock" therapies. This, he believes, is not the psychiatry that may have a great place in the future.

Dr. Emilio Mira was psychiatrist-in-chief of the Spanish Republican army during the last year of the civil war, and out of his unique experience he has written this book on psychiatry in war. He believes that psychiatry has not yet realized its social possibilities, that it deserves a more prominent role in present-day warfare, and that it ought to concern itself not only with the diseases of individuals, but with the diseases of "collective persons," one of which is war. A number of factors enabled Dr. Mira and his staff to elevate psychiatry, for the brief period of a year, to a level of social participation perhaps never before attained; they became pioneers in a type of social psychiatry. One reason for this resides in Dr. Mira himself who, among his many gifts, seems to have a special talent for understanding the psychology of "collective persons."

The portions of Dr. Mira's book which are of chief interest are those dealing with the role he and his associates played in the maintenance and testing of morale and the fostering of mental hygiene, not only in the armed forces but among the civilian population. As Dr. Mira observes, never in history did the best brains of a nation come into such close contact with the population and the army as in this war. They succeeded in explaining to the dumbest soldiers and civilians what was going on in the world, why they were called upon to fight, and in convincing the people that immediate death was preferable to postponed death, plus eternal ignominy. With the invaders at the gates of Madrid they undertook certain experiments to measure morale. For example, they deliberately lost special ration cards in which the names of the owners could be easily substituted by those of the finders; the number not returned in response to advertisements was supposed to increase in the ratio of the decrease in morale. They measured the speed with which artificially fabricated rumors circulated, the number of voluntary blood donations, the amounts of money collected during street solicitation campaigns and many other activities and worked out a series of indices of morale. In the armed forces they played a part in allocating men to appropriate duties in accordance with their psychiatric qualifications, a function hardly envisioned by our authorities. They undertook special educational programs for the crippled and the alcoholic, supervised entertainments, radio broadcasts, the reading matter of the men; they organized discussion groups; they attempted to regulate the activities of bars and cabarets in the best interests of the morale of the soldiers. Dr. Mira wrote and distributed widely to the army a moving and inspired mental-hygiene booklet which contains the famous line, "Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees!"

Dr. Mira considers war as a kind of collective psychosis in which there is a regression to primitive emotions, especially fear and rage. The book contains a chapter on each of these major emotions with attention focused on how they may be manipulated for the improvement of morale. Dr. Mira believes that the antidote for fear is not courage, but love, and, therefore, it is imperative that men know for what they are fighting. To prevent uncontrolled fear the people must know the truth about events, whether pleasant

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or unpleasant, because the unforeseen is more dreadful than the certain and immediate.

There is a chapter on psychiatry in the Nazi army which tells about the Nazi methods of officer selection—from which the rest of the world has much to learn. The book concludes with the hope that psychiatrists, who are better equipped than most to understand the causes of individual and social unrest and maladjustment, will sit at the table when plans are made for the post-war world.

CHARLES FISHER

The Good Life

The Desire to Please, by Harold Nicolson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 210 pages. \$3.50.

THIS PLEASANT, reflective book tells the romantic story of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who lived from 1751 to 1834. His original name was Hamilton (he added Rowan to inherit a fortune) and he came of a prosperous Anglo-Irish family, settled in Ireland since the days of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Nicolson's mother was among his descendants, and her parental country home inherited from him was the beloved background of Mr. Nicolson's boyhood. Many Hamiltons won distinction, but Rowan was unique among them in being a convicted traitor to the British Crown. From 1794 to 1803 he endured the pains of exile, and only by luck and daring managed to escape with his life.

Rowan's education was English, and, while at Cambridge, he managed a trip to South Carolina on the staff of the royal governor. There followed some formative years in Paris, where he frequented the circle of the Duc d'Orléans (Philippe Égalité). Not till 1784 did he go to Ireland and plunge into Irish politics. Having learned to regard all government as a "train of abuses and usurpation," he found plenty of food for indignation in the "Protestant Ascendancy" of Grattan's Parliament. His wealth, great stature, good looks and eagerness to champion victims, or apparent victims, of injustice brought him prominence and popularity, but he remained more an adherent of "French" principles than a patriot. Yet he is still a hero with Irish nationalists, few of whom are aware that he approved of the Act of Union which in 1800 abolished the Irish legislature.

He was already in trouble with the authorities for distributing a seditious pamphlet when discovered plotting to procure a French invasion of Ireland in 1794. He fled to France and, arriving at the height of the terror, underwent distressing and disillusioning experiences. The following year he removed to America. He lived in Philadelphia and Wilmington till 1800, but American manners were by no means to his taste. Under the persuasions of his devoted wife, the British eventually let him return home and live out his long life.

Mr. Nicolson's view of the preponderant element in Rowan's character is indicated by the title of his book; other elements were love of excitement and compassion for the oppressed. This graceful record, despite some minor errors of fact, such as the statement that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was never a United Irishman, will interest historians as well as the general reader.

FRANK MACDERMOT

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Salute to Courage

Paris-Underground, by Etta Shiber. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 392 pages. \$2.50.

IN 1936, MRS. SHIBER, the widow of an American newspaperman, went to live in Paris with her friend Kitty Beaurepos, an Englishwoman who had married and been separated from her French husband. When the Germans were, at the gates of Paris, they attempted to leave and were forced to turn back, but not before sympathizing with an English soldier whom they picked up at an inn and helped, ultimately, to escape. In Paris, their consciences, apparently, would not let them rest in what might have been comparatively comfortable circumstances, and taking incredible risks, they found themselves repeating their feat, finding colleagues, and soon becoming full-fledged, if somewhat matronly, Pimpernels. Before the inevitable Gestapo arrest, they had helped some two hundred English aviators and soldiers out of occupied France.

The mock trial at which Kitty was condemned to death and Mrs. Shiber to three years at hard labor, the succession of miserable jails and hospitals through which Mrs. Shiber passed, are vivid weavings of a now familiar pattern of horror. The five half-starved women in the prison of Troyes, lying huddled together for warmth on thin straw, almost motionless for weeks on end, "units in one life, and that no very eventful one, like the microscopic animals which live in colonies," are, perhaps, more deeply moving examples of Nazi brutality and dehumanization than the stone-coffins of Oranienburg or the incredible sadisms of Dachau.

It is the innocence, the inappropriateness of their characters to their situation, that makes the story of Kitty Beaurepos and Mrs. Shiber unique in the annals of anti-Nazi resistance—the fact that they were able to accomplish and salvage so much from a catastrophe for which they were so wholly unprepared by either trained political fervor, adventuresome temperament or any other quality save a natural, human desire and ability to offer resistance to an unnatural brutality.

WILLIAM POSTER

A Reader's List

PLANNING NO. 207: USE AND MISUSE OF TRANSPORT (Political and Economic Planning, available through The New Republic, 25 cents). This pamphlet of 16 pages is a section of a larger series concerned with "the consumer needs which physical planning should satisfy." Beginning with the statement that the advances of modern transportation have perversely favored haphazard urban

planning, and basing itself on the hopeful belief that the immediate post-war years offer a fine opportunity for a "new start," the argument is developed for decentralization and reallocation of urban industry and trade, involving an intelligent revision of zoning principles. The perspective here is that of transport, although it is understood that much broader problems of planning must be faced. Also, the history and present condition of, and the prospects for, agricultural education in Britain are treated in the last three pages.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF MEDICINE, by C. D. Haagenzen and Wyndham E. B. Lloyd (Sheridan House, \$3.75). This is a methodical and well arranged history-book primarily intended for the layman. The various diseases are presented chronologically and the reader is able to see how many of the fatal diseases of the past have become the curable ones of the present. The same treatment is made of surgery, beginning with the discovery of ether in 1842. Since medical advance can have no real meaning unless it reaches those who most need attention, the authors have included the hospital and sickness-insurance plans used in Europe, England and America.

Contributors

HEINZ H. F. EULAU was until recently Senior Propaganda Analyst for the Department of Justice. He has a doctorate in Political Science from the University of California and contributes to many journals in the fields of politics and economics.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS' latest book is "Brothers under the Skin," published this spring. He is a former California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing.

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GEORGE S. COUNTS, a professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, since 1927, has published a number of volumes on various aspects of education. He is co-author, with John L. Childs, of "America, Russia and the Communist Party," published by John Day.

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WILLIAM POSTER is writing a play in verse and working on a translation of "Nadja," by André Breton.

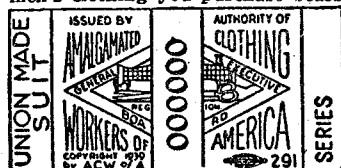
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The Negro: His Future in America

A Special Section

ONCE AGAIN the race question is in a state of crisis. Within the space of a few war years we are making decisions, establishing policies, crystallizing our individual attitudes toward the issue in a manner that will determine whether America will witness a maximum or a minimum degree of racial turmoil in the coming decades. Whether as a people we proceed now in a moment of enlightenment, on a high level of humanism and intelligence, or whether we yield to the dark and primitive residues in our national spirit, attempting to ride roughshod over the Negro problem and over the Negro, is a decision which can bring to America a post-war era of internal healing and recovery, or a time of border fighting on the frontiers between the races, and involvement in an expanding conflict which might eventually precipitate the third world war.

The American race question is no longer a matter of domestic politics. Even in the middle years of the last century, when the controversy did assume this characteristic, it produced a destructive war. Then it was a two-part conflict between white Americans over the disposition of the Negro as property, but today the Negro is attempting to wrest the question of his own destiny from white hands, and only violence and main force will deter him in his efforts. Knowing this, American Negroes in recent years have begun to feel an esprit de corps with the other colored races whose numbers constitute an overwhelming majority, and the American race question has become an integral part of the colonial crisis throughout the world. The white majority in America must decide now what it intends to do about this crisis. Though the ultimate consequences of the decision will not confront them within the month or possibly even the decade, they belong inexorably to the future and some day they must be faced.

White America has two approaches to the problem; the first is an official approach through governmental acts and policies; the second approach is through the private acts and attitudes of citizens. An enlightened, courageous federal program could go far in conditioning the attitudes of citizens. But, unfortunately, we live in a day of official expediency, and actually it has been the attitudes of private citizens and their pressure groups which have given direction to the government.

The history of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee is a case in point. It was formed by presidential proclamation only after Negroes had

threatened a march on Washington unless something were done to ameliorate widespread discrimination against them in war industries. Then a counter pressure was initiated by Southern industry and politicians and the President permitted himself to be pushed in the other direction: the committee and its scheduled railroad hearings were abandoned. But now many white progressives joined with the Negro groups and a still more persistent pressure was brought to bear on the President; the committee was reestablished and the hearings opened.

In this respect it appears that initiative in the field of race relations has been defaulted by the administration and has passed to private citizens and pressure groups: to the Negro and his organizations on one hand, and to anti-Negro white groups on the other.

There is a third group which must interest itself in the problem, for its stake in the solution is as great as any. This is a large passive group of white Americans who consider themselves loyal supporters of the principles of American democracy, and who have some actual sense of the meaning of the term. It is the reading, thinking, reasoning group in America who, though at present uneasy about the mounting race conflict, desires at least to understand it and to act with intelligence and fairness, and with effect. It is to these people primarily that this special supplement of *The New Republic* is addressed.

White America has a record of bad faith, ignorance and cruelty toward the Negro and, on the whole, the historic liberal movement shares this record. The anti-slavery agitation of the pre-Civil War era is tainted with economic implications. Though many of the agitators were sincere men, and some were even great men, it was not humanism that gave their movement its real weight so much as the greedy rivalry for the control of national policies which existed between Northern industrialism and Southern agrarianism. In the decades following the war, industrial exploitation became the beating heart and lifeblood of the Republican Party. Continued strife with the South was now bad for business, and the South remained unyielding in its demand for political and economic debasement for the Negro. The North was now faced with the choice of Southern markets, or continued interest in the Negro's welfare. Very quickly, and with thoroughness, the Negro's welfare was sacrificed. Under the inspiration of its industrial masters, rather than in a

spirit of justice and sound law, the Supreme Court in the 1870's began a series of narrow and crippling interpretations of the Civil War amendments and the congressional acts which had been passed to ensure political suffrage for the Negro. The black man was turned back to his former masters; and in 1876 the deal was anointed forever. In this significant year the Northern democrats who were supporting Garfield in a close contest for the presidential candidacy made a cold-blooded bargain with the Southern states by which, in return for their support of Garfield, they were assured a free hand for all time in their dealings with the Negro.

The most shameless aspect of this trading was the arrant hypocrisy of the liberals of that day. After 1876, in the words of Charles A. Beard, "agitation of the Negro question became bad form in the North." Most of the leading anti-slavery agitators who were still living—men of such stature as Carl Schurz, E. L. Godkin, James Bryce and Thomas Wentworth Higginson—piously condoned the deal and began to express their belief that Southern Negroes were unworthy of political suffrage.

In this manner, throughout the history of the race question, the "Negro's friends" both North and South could be counted on eventually to take the path of least resistance; to pursue some policy that would create a minimum amount of inconvenience, and of fundamental readjustment, for the white race, and a minimum amount of progress for the black; and they could be counted on also to rationalize this betrayal of principle in whatever happened to be the current name for expediency—gradualism, realism, common sense. Militant women who could march in suffragette parades could also find it in themselves to accept customary or legal discrimination against Negroes without batting an eye; men who could write tracts in behalf of the eight-hour day could also fly with their neighbors to a city council for restrictive ordinances if a Negro residential section encroached upon their property; and labor unions, founded to resist the exploitation of the working classes, could be depended on to deny their communal fraternity to Negro workers, to aid and even insist upon their exploitation by the bosses.

The reason for this historic white faint-heartedness grows out of the omnipresent, insistent anti-Negro propaganda inherent in every facet of our culture. Sometimes it sprang from a conscious and cynical intention to keep the Negro a peasant, an unskilled worker, a low-wage labor source open to exploitation by white ownership; but just as often it grew out of a deep psychological fear of a "strange" race, a race with superficial markings dramatically differing from the white norm; and deeply involved in this fear was a case of bad conscience. The white soul is saturated with fear; white culture embedded within itself, and perpetuated at all cost, every educational device that was

possible to teach this fear of the stranger, and buttress it through customs, myths and old wives' tales. And white America as well as black America was victimized in the process.

There is not space in this supplement to bring to bear the resources of modern science against the vast and ramifying color prejudice. Modern studies in all fields which bear upon the subject—anthropology, psychology, sociology, history—have placed on endless rows of library shelves throughout the world (removed and burned for some years now in Germany) an impressive mass of data which demonstrate the mythical nature of these race beliefs. Scientists in each field have reinforced the findings of those in others.

In America no subject has been written on more prolifically than the race question. Much of it unfortunately has been bitter and violent exposition of the race myth; much of it is negative, hypocritical and evasive. In the words of Carey McWilliams,¹ "there is actually something rather unwholesome about the accumulation of such a bulky literature on a particular problem when that writing is so barren, as it happens to be in the case of the Negro, of definite suggestions for social action." The best of the literature on the race question has appeared in very recent decades. Many good books are now being issued as a result of mounting crisis.

Under separate headings, we shall discuss outstanding phases of the problem as it exists today. The discussion necessarily must deal primarily with current aspects rather than with history and anthropology, but a discussion of a few outstanding findings of the modern race scientists is properly first in order.

Race Science

A JESUIT PRIEST who teaches a course in race relations in an American university, an authority in the field, asserted in a recent discussion of modern anthropological studies that "once you grasp the central idea you've got the whole thing." By central idea he meant the concept that, though races exhibit obvious and measurable physical differences, there are no inherited intellectual or moral superiorities. Leading anthropologists are overwhelmingly in agreement on this point.

A century ago it was the fashion of head-measurers and anthropologists in Europe to cling to the theory of the master race, with a list of descending races who were graded, in most cases, by the colors of their skin. And almost without exception the particular anthropologist found that the master race happened to be his own. Count Arthur de Gobineau formulated and was the first great propagandist of the master-race theory—in a book called "Les Races Humaines." It was copied by many others, among them Houston Chamberlain,

¹ *Brothers Under the Skin*. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

a Germanophile who some fifty years ago was known as the Kaiser's private anthropologist. Gobineau's theory was the inspiration of Hitler's master-racism; and thus a piece of evil ignorance which is ridiculed by modern scientists—and rejected by most churches as heresy—inflamed the mind of a mean and thwarted psychopath and enabled him to drive a world to war largely through the manipulation of the latent prejudices and hatreds that exist in the masses of unthinking people.

This is a list of a few of the anthropologists, unquestioned leaders in this field, whose books and monographs through the years have taken the race myth apart piece by piece and laid it forever, like witchcraft, in the graveyard of primitive superstitions: Franz Boas, Ales Hrdlicka, Melville Herskovits, Ruth Benedict, Earnest Hooton, Carlton Coon, Otto Klineberg, M. F. Ashley-Montagu. There are many others.

Climate, geographical background, diet and breeding in isolation are most frequently advanced in theories concerning the explanation of physical racial differences. The folk belief of many whites that the Negro stands at a lower stage of development away from apes has long ago been brushed aside. To many intelligent people it may seem superficial even to bring this point into the discussion; but it is not, for these are the beliefs which still, at this late date, bolster the dark, subjective prejudices in many white minds, even those which have been exposed to education. The point is covered briefly in a pamphlet by Ashley-Montagu:

If some of our racists would take the trouble to visit their local zoo, and for a moment drop their air of superiority and take a dispassionate look at either one of these apes [gorilla or chimpanzee], they would find that the hair of these creatures is lank, that their lips are thin, and that their body is profusely covered with hair. In these characters the white man stands nearer to the apes than does the Negro. Is the white man then, for this reason, to be judged inferior to the Negro? Surely not.

The pro-slavery literature of America is laden with the persistent tortuous argument that the Negro is a primitive—incapable of learning the white man's culture, incapable of appreciating it when he does make a show of learning it. Racists speak the same language; in "Mein Kampf" one runs across Hitler's violent resentment against the groups in Great Britain who give legal training to Negroes and then believe that they have actually made barristers out of "apes." Just as Hitler would have remained unconvinced by a citation of the brilliant legal work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American racists who today couch the old slavery argument in current terms remain adamantly unconvinced in the face of abundant evidence of Negro achievement. One hears this argument frequently from old-American Anglo-Saxon Southerners, whose forebears gave it currency

in the beginning. There is a passage in a letter that Cicero wrote to Atticus which should come as a jolt to such people, for it reveals that once their own ancestors were considered the primitives of Europe, and Cicero's language is exactly their own. It is quoted by Ruth Benedict in "Race: Science and Politics": "Do not obtain your slaves from Britain because they are so stupid and so utterly incapable of being taught that they are not fit to form a part of the household of Athens."

Environment has played a tragic part in retarding the Negro's progress in America. In the South this has been done with calculation, and the Negro's resultant ignorance has been offered as evidence of his unfitness—a trap from which there was no means of escape. In the North, anti-Negro prejudice has differed from that in the South only because of the fact that the fewer numbers of Negroes have kept this prejudice in a state of relative passivity. The Negro has been discriminated against and he has been subjected to customary, and sometimes to "legal," Jim Crow.

But one great advantage he has had in the North has been better schooling. In intelligence testing, when the Negro's environment has been related to the environment of the white children whose tests were used for comparison, the results have been similar. There is one brief table in Otto Klineberg's book, "Race Differences," which shows in a penetrating manner the influence of environment on intelligence. It is based on army intelligence-testing records in the last war which demonstrated the fact that Negroes who had been educated in the schools of progressive Northern states had higher intelligence scores than white recruits from a number of Southern states. The table is reproduced here:

SOUTHERN WHITES AND NORTHERN NEGROES, BY STATES,
ARMY RECRUITS

Whites		Negroes	
State	Median Score	State	Median Score
Mississippi	41.25	Pennsylvania	42.00
Kentucky	41.50	New York	45.02
Arkansas	41.55	Illinois	47.35
Georgia	42.12	Ohio	49.50

The white intellect that will unshackle itself from a cultural residue of race myths can find abundant evidence in modern scientific literature of the equality of men; not equality between any two given men—the point on which little intellects are wont to quibble—but men in general, regardless of skin color, nose width or eye slant. Even better evidence is available outside of libraries, for white people who can learn to look upon Negroes with a free and open mind; and with good will instead of fear or malice in their hearts.

The bugaboo of intermarriage, which lurks in even the most civilized white minds, could as well be forgotten. People are going to mate with whom they please,

as they have in the past, and laws to prevent it are futile. For the white people who fear intermarriage, there is literally no problem; they will never be forced to submit to it. Marriages, to quote Henry Fielding, are made of "high and tender friendship," and such an emotion does not grow from a feeling of repulsion. Nor have the South's strict anti-miscegenation laws prevented a constant lightening of the Negro's skin. There have been many mixed couples, legally married in Northern states, whose lives would put to shame the clandestine carnality of the white men who have created the generations of mixed-blood Negroes—to whom they have repudiated all the obligations of parenthood.

Of the thirteen million Negroes in America, six millions are light-skinned mulattoes. Melville Herskovits estimates that less than a quarter of all Negroes are pure-blooded. A good portion of the mixture comes from American Indian stock; but a considerable portion comes also from whites. It is ironic that those who cry loudest against "social equality," by which they mean intermarriage, hail from the states, counties and townships where white blood, regardless of the law, flowed in the heaviest volume into Negro veins. These protestants should know, if anyone should, that people mate with whom they please; it is a very personal and private decision.

The Negro in Industry

IN 1940 the Negro woke up to the fact that white America had just about decided not to give him a job in any of the profitable fields of employment. The story has been well told in a recent column by P. L. Prattis in *The Pittsburgh Courier*:

Negroes did not know that they were being methodically and consciously driven out of industry. They knew that certain labor unions were excluding them, but they did not understand that management desired to get along without the black worker. Of course, there had always been bars of a kind against the Negro worker. But this same worker had been hopeful that these bars were relics of slavery and the Reconstruction period and that they would wear away. He had no idea that custom was going to depress his status with the same certitude as the infamous Black Codes. He had had some experience losing jobs after the World War. That period gave currency to the expression that "the Negro is the last hired, the first fired." The black worker always hoped to beat the tragic implications of that expression. He simply did not want to believe that a time might come when no Negroes would be hired.

Then came the depression, with millions of jobless Negroes. Even in the South, where certain classes of menial jobs had by custom been yielded to him, the Negro found himself displaced by the poor white who needed work. Closer and closer to the periphery of economic desperation the Negro was pushed. Some Negroes regarded their plight philosophically. There weren't enough jobs to go around. Whites needed jobs. Certainly, the whites would get most

of the jobs first. But, as more and more jobs became available in better times, the Negro would be given a fair share of them too. That is what the average black worker hoped.

Up until 1940, the black worker really had not sensed what had taken place. He didn't realize that there had been a sort of meeting of minds throughout America and that there existed a cold-blooded understanding not to use the hands and skills of Negroes in the vast majority of gainful pursuits. That only became apparent with the approach of the war emergency and the call for workers. Black workers thought they would be called, too, but they weren't. Vast industrial enterprises went into operation, employing thousands and thousands of workers, but the doors were slammed hard in the face of the black man. . . .

In the years immediately preceding the First World War the United States was receiving annually about a million and a quarter immigrants, who supplied the bulk of the unskilled labor needed by industry. This tide was diminished, and then almost completely checked, as America closed the gates and as the countries of Europe kept their nationals home to work or fight. Mounting industrial production in America created a manpower vacuum and into it eventually was sucked the surplus white and Negro labor of the fecund South. Nearly two million Negroes left Dixie during the war years. They were drawn not only by the lure of high wages but also by the greater freedom and educational opportunities offered in the North.

The Negro was hit severely in the depression of 1923, and the depression of 1929 brought him economic devastation. In the North he had been forced into run-down, overcrowded residential sections, and during the depression the rates for disease, crime, death and delinquency began to soar. Desperate, the Negro sought escape from his problems in various ways. Some of these were gaudy and impractical, like the Marcus Garvey movement to found a "homeland" in Africa. During the days of mounting relief rolls—more than half the adult population of Harlem was on the dole—Negroes in large numbers began to follow the Communist Party line. Communist exploitation of a number of celebrated issues like the Scottboro case also proved effective propaganda. But an overwhelming majority of Negroes continued to cling stubbornly to a belief in the promise of America, and a hope that sooner or later the great day would come when it would open to them.

It is difficult to determine exactly why the Negro found himself *persona non grata* when industry began to boom in 1940, even in many fields where before he had been accepted. Certainly he had not become a poorer worker in the interim. Perhaps he had become a different person. His race consciousness and militancy had been growing since the depression years. Probably the Negro had become identified in the thinking of industrial management as a point of focus for restlessness and agitation.

A brief listing of the FEPC's findings in Los An-

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geles in October, 1941, illuminates the manner in which American industry had begun to freeze the Negro out: Douglas Aircraft employed 33,000 workers—10 of them Negroes. North American Aviation employed eight Negroes—all janitors; the company president announced publicly that Negroes were unacceptable in any other capacity. Bethlehem's San Pedro shipyard had two skilled Negroes working as common laborers, both hired on the morning of the hearing. Lockheed-Vega Aircraft had 54 Negroes out of 48,000—all hired in recent weeks, under threat of the hearing. Consolidated Aircraft of San Diego had 225 Negroes in custodial capacities out of 28,000, but claimed this was the fault of the International Association of Machinists (AFL). Boeing Aircraft had no Negroes among 41,000 at Seattle—and also blamed the Machinists.¹

Negroes by their own efforts had forced the creation of the FEPC in Executive Order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in war industry. Picket lines, mass demonstrations, delegations to Washington had been organized all over the country. Faint-hearted Negro leaders who cautioned "patience" were brushed aside as "Uncle Tom's" and "handkerchief-heads" and "pussyfooters." For the first time an aggressive spiritual unity appeared in all sections of the country and in every stratum of Negro life. Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a leader with a reputation for personal integrity and with a long history of effective militancy, a number of organizations united in a proposed "March-on-Washington" movement. The plan—probably too ambitious for actual realization—called for the march of 100,000 orderly Negroes down the streets of Washington.

At first it was derided by official Washington, and then taken seriously when it became apparent that the protestants were in earnest. It was not difficult to imagine what headlines such a demonstration would produce in Berlin or Tokyo. Under this sharp, persistent pressure—the Negro's own creation, it must be remembered—the administration acted and the FEPC was created to ameliorate such flagrant discriminations as the first hearings uncovered on the West Coast.

So long as the committee confined itself to investigations in Northern and Western areas, it encountered only normal opposition. As soon as it scheduled hearings in Birmingham, Alabama, the Dixie bloc in Washington swung into action. A campaign of protest and propaganda—much of it inspired by Northern-owned subsidiaries in the South—swept through the Southern press and industries and soon the inevitable charge that the committee was attempting to foster "social equality" was raised. Jew-baiting, Negro-baiting racists like Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi, both behind the scenes and on the floor, assailed the committee sav-

agely. Erstwhile Southern liberals, who in the past had been spokesmen for mild race reforms, made a complete about-face now that they were confronted with a decision that had more than superficial meaning. They began to speak and write about shelving all discussion of the race problem until after the war. Nevertheless the hearings were held, and they received sincere support by a number of Alabama newspapers and progressive citizens' groups.

The howl raised over the Birmingham session proved only the first stirring breeze to the storm that greeted the FEPC's scheduling of hearings into the firmly entrenched discriminatory practices employed by a number of railroads and railroad unions, particularly in the South. Skilled Negro railroad workers, the highest-paid Negroes in the country, were being systematically and brutally excluded from employment by an agreement between the railroads and the unions. The first victims of the exclusion were 2,400 Negro firemen. Very simple means provided for the exclusion. The Interstate Commerce Commission had ruled that steam engines must be replaced by Diesel or by stoker-fed engines by July 1, 1943. An agreement signed on February 28, 1941, by the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen made it impossible for a Negro fireman working on a steam or stokerized engine to be switched to a Diesel engine. It limited these jobs only to "promotable men," which in an earlier agreement had been defined as white men only. Thus Negroes with long seniority, who had taken firemen's jobs on railroads twenty and thirty years ago when shoveling coal was hard and dirty work, at low pay, were now being summarily forced out because the work on Diesel engines was easy and comparatively pleasant, and desired by white men.

Negro railway employees had been completely deprived of any effective means of raising objections to this agreement. By the Railroad Labor Act, the Brotherhoods assumed the right to act as sole bargaining agent for Negro employees. But the same employees are excluded from membership in the "bargaining agent," which holds a closed-shop contract.¹

Here was discrimination in a virulent form.

A delegation of six of the most reactionary Southern Senators hastened to the White House and laid down an ultimatum that unless the hearings were canceled, the administration could not enact any of its legislation. The President, by now yielding to the Southern bloc almost through force of habit, yielded again. On the night before he left for the Casablanca conference he ordered "indefinite postponement" of the hearings.

The FEPC's budget was held up. Strangulation of the FEPC began, at first subtly, and then ruthlessly.

But the President had made a mistake. The com-

¹ John Beecher in The New York Post, February 2, 1943.

¹ America Magazine, January 23, 1943.

mittee had worked well during the months of its existence and had turned up malodorous discriminatory conditions that had affronted white noses as well as Negro. A nationwide protest of minority groups followed, and the March-on-Washington threat was again revived. But perhaps more effective than anything else in impelling the President to revive the committee and reissue an anti-discrimination proclamation was the bald and indisputable fact that for a signer of the Atlantic Charter and as the leader of world democracy, he had acted with extraordinary weakness in canceling the railroad hearings.

On September 15, under the guidance of a new FEPC headed by Msgr. Francis J. Haas, the hearings were resumed with a vigorous presentation of the case against the railroads. The results of this hearing are being watched closely by Negroes and white groups throughout the country. They will give a sign whether or not the administration, after months of stumbling, appeasement and indirection, now actually realizes that the question of Negro employment is a grave matter which requires an honest, capable program instead of vacillation and expediency.

The railroad cases illustrate a widespread pattern of discrimination practised by various unions, the great majority of them AFL. Another far-reaching case, now before the National Labor Relations Board, involves the Bethlehem Shipyard at Alameda, California, and the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council. The AFL Boilermakers' Union, principal member of the council, set up auxiliary locals for Chinese and Negro workers, collected dues, restricted them to the poorest jobs, but gave them no say in union affairs. The council's jurisdiction has been challenged by the CIO steelworkers' and welders' unions, which do not bar Negroes. The NLRB decision, which directly involves union discrimination, will have far-reaching effects.

It is true, however, that on the whole Negroes by now have been able to get work in wartime industry. They are still barred from most of the most desirable job classifications, and are denied upgrading according to their skills, largely through threats and resentful attitudes on the part of white workers. And, although the FEPC did unusually effective work on its meager budget, largely by bringing the pressure of publicity to bear upon industry, it is the cold, mathematical need for manpower which has been chiefly responsible for giving the Negro employment. And the Negro knows he faces one of the stiffest fights of his history to keep any appreciable amount of his gains.

In time of war and crisis, he makes his gains. In depressions, and post-war eras of shrinking industry, he loses ground; the blows fall first and heaviest upon him. He remembers the First World War, and what came after. The only answer he can have to "white friends" who enjoin him to put away any thoughts of race reforms until after the war is first to try to swallow

his disillusionment, and work with greater determination for his share of democracy—now.

The Negro has two means of preparing himself for the post-war crisis. One is to try to nail down every gain he has made by getting formal rulings from law courts and governmental agencies. This phase is important, but it is not enough. The Negro must also try by good work to fit so well into industry that management will see no economic advantage, and perhaps even disadvantage, in laying him off because of the color of his skin.

In driving this vital fact into the minds of Negro workers, the Negro press and a number of other organizations, hammering away week after week, logically, compellingly, are performing one of the most constructive educational tasks in American history. While the race press has been widely attacked for its militancy, white critics at the same time have consistently overlooked or failed to understand this important work.

While Negro leadership can accomplish much by attempting to create a prideful race consciousness on the part of poorly educated masses of workers—maintaining a constant din of propaganda against absenteeism, drinking, vulgarity, uncouthness in dress or manner—sermonizing alone cannot do it. Characteristics which grow up in any exploited peasantry or slum population, white or black, as a form of rebelliousness and release, cannot be completely eradicated by a period of momentary prosperity, especially when the prosperity is only relative. Oppression and discrimination must cease and slums must be obliterated before their effects upon a people can be obliterated as well.

Last July in Detroit, Vice President Wallace gave voice to a heart-lifting view of America's post-war assets; he described a world in which the Negro would have an excellent chance to hold his wartime gains, and to advance them, along with workers in general:

When the guns stop, America will find itself with the following assets:

1. Manpower by the million; skilled workers from war industries, military manpower and young people coming of working age.
2. The largest industrial plant capacity in the world.
3. The greatest resources, both natural and artificial, to make peacetime products and thousands of new inventions waiting to be converted to peacetime use.
4. The largest scientific arms plant in the world.
5. The largest backlog of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts.
6. The greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that any nation has ever known.

With such wealth, who says this nation is now bankrupt, if industrial management can bring the same wisdom for producing for peace that it has shown on many production fronts in the supply program for war?

The whole nation has a stake in bringing about full use of these assets. Most of the planning going on in

Washington today is directed toward this end. But certainly a special and adequate type of planning is needed to assure the Negro's participation in this world on a broadening basis of equality. The Negro has always had two strikes against him economically; if no special effort is made by the administration to prevent it, the first pitched ball of the post-war era once again will strike him out; the first post-war jolts to the full-employment war economy will result in nationwide lay-offs of Negro workers; an inevitable reappearance of malcontent and unemployed slum populations; an inevitable heightening of race conflict; inevitable riots. This is a problem for the administration to think about. It is a problem too for industrial management, which certainly has much to lose in an America swept by race tension and rioting. And, of paramount importance, it is a problem that the individual white American must concern himself with and attempt to ameliorate through enlightened attitudes and deeds.

Negroes in the Armed Forces

COMPARED WITH HIS EXPERIENCE in the last war, the Negro soldier has a better time of it in this one. But one thing must be borne in mind in such comparisons: the Negro's maturing need for justice has outstripped his gains in all fields. This was an act of human nature; of intellects that learned, of eyes that observed, of native intelligence and manhood and human hungering rising over caution. There are a number of white men who try by tortuous, deceiving argument to attach some sort of blame to the Negro people for this development. In doing so, they reveal their own spiritual and intellectual inertia; no onus can be placed on a people for being alive and human and having the capacity to learn and hunger.

In the First World War, less than a thousand Negroes were trained as officers, in a segregated camp at Des Moines, Iowa. The training given them seemed at times as though it were designed to ensure their failure as officers. After he had received his commission, the Negro officer found himself subjected to a disheartening variety of humiliations. When he reached France he found that official United States Army orders and advices had been issued warning the French people not to associate with Negro officers or soldiers, and barring Negroes from restaurants and public places. Yet despite all this, Negro troops exhibited an ironclad resistance to German propaganda which sought to capitalize on their experiences in the army and at home.

Many of the Negro regiments distinguished themselves. One of them, the 369th of New York, served under fire longer than any other regiment and achieved the distinction of never having yielded an inch of ground. Because it was brigaded with French troops, who treated its soldiers more decently, the 369th was

given opportunity to show its mettle as was no other Negro unit.

But the experience of Negro troops on the whole was humiliating:

To the Service of Supply regiments [writes Carter G. Woodson] most Negro draftees were sent. Not less than three-fourths of the 200,000 of the Negroes sent to France were reduced to laborers. It resulted that one-tenth of the population of the nation was compelled, by a country fighting for democracy abroad, to supply three-fourths of the labor of the expeditionary force. They were commanded moreover largely by illiterate, prejudiced white men, and finally all but enslaved in the Service of Supply divisions abroad by unsympathetic whites, the majority of whom were Southerners on the order of slave drivers.

Abolition of segregated officer training has been the most liberal advance in army race policy between the wars. During the present war, without difficulty or conflict, Negroes in considerably larger numbers have been trained with white soldiers in officer-candidate schools, the majority of which are in the South. But after training, the officers return to duty with segregated troops—not all, it is hoped, to forget the lessons of democracy and mutual respect learned through association in the schools.

Large numbers of Negro troops still go to labor battalions, but here too, by comparison with his First World War experience, he is getting a better break.

The Air Forces at first refused to accept Negroes in any capacity, but after the appeals and criticism of Negro and white groups had been focused on the War Department, the Air Forces established a training school for a limited number of pursuit pilots at Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama. These pilots have been in action since the Sicilian campaign. The War Department, apparently convinced that Negroes make satisfactory airmen, has announced that Negroes will be trained for bombers also, as pilots, navigators and bombardiers, in an unsegregated school at Del Rio, Texas.

The navy, in which the Negro had served almost exclusively as a mess attendant, held out for a long time against enlisting Negroes as general seamen, but it announced last year that Negroes would now be used in this classification and assigned to navy yards and shore installations. The Coast Guard and Marine Corps, also initially prejudiced against Negroes, finally let down the bars and manifested an encouraging willingness to admit Negroes and to permit their advancement as combat personnel.

In their comparative effects upon Negro morale, these relative gains in military status have been more than invalidated by the constant humiliations suffered by Negro soldiers at the hands of sheriffs, police, bus drivers, railway conductors, shopkeepers and, to a lesser extent, by white commanding officers and military police. There have been about a score of race riots, ranging from small localized outbreaks to pitched bat-

ties in which a number of lives were lost. These involved Negro and white troops, and some times white municipal police. A growing number of Negro soldiers have been beaten or murdered in the vicinity of Southern training camps. The inflexible pattern of local authorities has been to put the blame for aggressiveness on the victims. The record of the War and Justice Departments in these cases has been one of constant evasion of their democratic responsibilities, and surrender to Southern racial patterns. It must be remembered that in almost all of these cases, regardless of how the blame has been fixed officially, it is inconceivable that a white soldier could have been shot for the same reasons, or that wanton slayings of white personnel would be ignored by the federal government as they have been ignored in the case of Negro troops.

It is true that the army (like America) has been confronted with an extraordinarily difficult dilemma. At the beginning of the war in Europe we were caught with probably less than 100,000 fully equipped troops. The General Staff faced staggering tasks: of creating divisions literally overnight; of transforming America from a comatose peacetime nation into a great military power. Draft machinery had to be set up. Cantonments and other centers by the hundreds had to be planned, ordered and built in a matter of weeks and months. The army's task was enormously complicated by the confusion in domestic politics; by habitual obstruction and an incredible lack of realism—or worse—on the part of men who seemed almost willing to see America eventually humiliated and defeated. To top it all, the army was forced to maintain our fiction of neutrality and to train men for hypothetical battles with unnamed enemies, rather than for a certain death struggle with Germans, Italians and Japanese.

No necessity was as urgent as the necessity for speed. One decision made instantly was that a large proportion of the camps had to be built in the South. The milder climate afforded more days for outdoor physical work by green civilians in uniform. The open spaces, the forests, the cut-over pinelands afforded room for maneuvers, resulting in the least damage and delays for farming and other civilian pursuits. In the milder climate camps could be built with a smaller proportion of vital building materials, such as heating equipment and insulation.

In the face of these monumental tasks, the army apparently decided that it must accept the Southern Jim Crow patterns for the Negro troops which would be trained in the South. The army itself, furthermore, was built of America's components, and the principle of segregation was embedded in it. There were large proportions of Southern officers of all ranks, from top to bottom; as military resources the army relied heavily on them. Southern states had the highest rates of enlistments. Because of the relative poverty of the South, a greater proportion of its young men had been trained

in the state-supported institutions which conducted reserve-officer-training programs as a function of their land-grant charters, in return for state and federal support. Huge Texas A and M, for example, has sent more officers to the war than has West Point. Because of all these factors, the student of contemporary America, even though deploring the tragic national background which produced it, must nevertheless understand the inevitability of the army's decision not to buck the Southern race pattern, or comparable bi-racial patterns wherever they manifested themselves, North or South.

By now it must have become apparent to the army that a mistake has been made, a mistake judged not on the basis of ethics, but on the basis of military logistics. The mistake was not in its failure to choose completely to override the South's Jim Crow patterns—for that could not be done—but in the excessive degree in which they have been observed. As a result, the morale of Negro soldiers is one of the major background problems which confront the army—probably the most important; and the morale of Negro civilians—who number a tenth of the nation—has suffered its severest damage through the experiences of Negroes in the army.

For three years now, the letters of Negro soldiers have flowed homeward; month by month the volume has mounted; year by year the information which they contained has been digested and disseminated through the Negro population; until at last, in this brief space, they have created an actual *folkway*, to use the term of social scientists, among the Negro people. It is an ominous folkway.¹ Its basis is a belief that sons and husbands and loved ones are subjected to humiliation and injustice in the army of American democracy. It is a belief also that Negroes in army camps, particularly in the South, are in constant physical danger at the hands of white authorities, principally civilian.

The Negro press has disseminated much of this information. A number of white critics, with utter disregard for elemental considerations of justice, have accused the press of reckless and hysterical agitation. It is fallacious to accuse the Negro's newspapers and his leaders of having created this folkway; they have done no more than report and react—with indignation, it is true—to actual instances of cruelty and brutality to Negro soldiers by civilians, or discriminatory treatment

¹ This fact is recommended to the attention of those sociologists, most of whom are Southerners, who argue that the South can be expected to make no rapid readjustment in its archaic relationships with Negroes because these relationships are rooted in folkways, which by their slow growth and inertia cannot be altered except through continuance of the slow evolutionary process. A counter-folkway has grown up in the Negro people; on the side of this folkway reposes elemental justice, and the weight of modern world history. Intransigence on the part of white Southerners breeds intransigence on the part of Negroes; a genuine and meaningful effort to adjust the Southern pattern would greatly diminish the ominous and fatalistic element in the Negro attitude. Only in this way can the present tragic attrition and mounting clashes be brought to a halt, and a period of actual interracial progress be ushered in.

of them in the army. The folkway has been created by the Negro soldier's experiences.

Anyone who has had access to large numbers of the letters of Negro soldiers knows their tone: bitterness and disillusionment, often accompanied by macabre humor. Their experiences have an impressive uniformity. They are put off buses to give white soldiers or civilians a seat; they are beaten, or their friends are beaten, for speaking out sullenly or bitterly to bus drivers; merchants insult them and keep them out of their stores; townsmen refer to them commonly as "nigger"; white policemen threaten them or beat them with little provocation; the army refuses to stand up for them in controversies with local authorities; there is little to do when they go into the towns on passes but walk around aimlessly trying to keep out of trouble—feeling like unwanted pariahs even though clothed in the uniform of a soldier. There are many other complaints; sometimes bloody violence figures in them.

There is no use quoting these letters, or raking over the details of riots and shootings. This supplement is not intended as an exposé but as exposition and analysis of the problem.

It must be observed also that the morale of many white troops, many who have an actual philosophical understanding of the principles of a democracy, and a belief in them, and a desire to fight for them but not for fascist principles, has been damaged by observing the undemocratic indignities suffered by Negro soldiers. It is significant that at least three-fourths of the articles and letters sent to *The New Republic* by soldiers deal with the problem. This does not mean that three-fourths of the white personnel of the army is concerned about it—far from it; soldiers who read journals of opinion in preference to magazines with pin-up girls must be in a very small minority. But it is nevertheless a fact of significance; it argues that there must certainly be elements of native democracy and decency in the army on which a more enlightened, and less dangerous, race policy could be built by the commanding generals.

A reading of Southern newspapers discloses the fact that the South is laboring under the illusion that race clashes are caused almost exclusively by "uppity" Negroes in Northern units who don't know their place like Southern Negroes. A study of the facts of these clashes disproves this. A listing of the home towns of Negro soldiers involved in riots discloses a large number of them, probably a majority, to be from Southern states. And it is also true that the folkway of discontent is firmly embedded in Southern Negro civilians whose men are in the army. This forebodes a tragic day for the South when white troops and Negro troops are mustered out and return home. It is impossible for the army to take a Negro youth and make a soldier out of him, teach him how to kill on a battlefield, how to defend himself, how to sustain himself in crisis through

courage, daring and skill, and then expect him to slip back easily into his former role of complacency, servility and caution. Clearly the only way to avoid the tragic results that are looming in Southern history is for the South to learn—for the South's leaders to teach it—that the Negro, by all the rights of democracy, by all the ethics of Christianity, by all the arguments of prudence and common sense, must be accorded a greater measure of freedom and respect than he has known before. For the South to develop some techniques of actual coöperation with Negroes would be a way out; but coöperation does not mean patronizing—the subtle, dictatorial arrogance which has often passed by this name in the past. The only other answer is to hold the Negro to the old pattern by force and violence. The South's history stands proof that it can be done, for a time at least; but it also suggests what the ghastly cost will be.

It is a known fact that the army is gravely concerned with its race problem as a military factor. Some of the top command are convinced that segregation is uneconomical, militarily wasteful and harmful. Much attention is being given to the problem—but, unfortunately, with the field of remedial action always limited, perhaps in the long run fatally so, by the swollen power of Southern politicians.

The single, dramatic, sound and clear-cut act by which the army could give an incalculable lift of spirit to its Negro troops, to thousands of white troops, to Negro civilians and to millions of white ones, is the creation of a voluntarily mixed division of white and Negro soldiers. Responsible Americans in great numbers have petitioned the War Department to take this step. The division could undoubtedly be filled instantly with volunteers; many soldiers, including numbers of liberal Southerners, have already made known their wishes to serve. Undoubtedly, the division would draw an intelligent, high-type personnel. But the army will probably not take this step (in the American race question it often seems that the right steps are the ones which must be summarily ruled out). From the army's point of view, there are two obstacles: the inevitable opposition from the South, even though the enrolment would be on a voluntary basis; and second, the army's own innately reactionary wish to keep enlightened liberal white troops and Negroes far apart, lest they give one another "subversive" ideas. The consideration that a division motivated by intelligence and a creative ideal would probably be a splendid division for hazardous fighting will hardly enter into the matter.¹

¹ There is a forgotten Civil War story in the army's archives which is timely today, and which would have been well worth study by the ranking officers who laid down the army's race policies in the present war.

It concerns Gen. Benjamin F. Butler and his use of Negro troops in defense of the Mississippi Valley in 1862. Butler, commanding general at New Orleans following the city's capture, was at first contemptuous of the Negro's military potentialities. A congressional

A mixed division would be the best thing; the next best things are remedies of limited nature. Yet it is important to try them. The army shows signs of making some progress. Thus far, however, the emphasis has been on minimizing race prejudice among troops in foreign service among dark peoples. The Office of Special Services of the War Department has prepared excellently written guides for troops in countries where skin color, traditions, history, language, clothing and religion are markedly different. They include valuable instructions on what to do and what not to do, among them injunctions concerning race prejudice itself. But the point is not labeled, and in some of the guides the issue is treated so delicately as to be of doubtful efficacy. Some passages, however, offer arguments which the army might well present to its own white troops training in America, and to civilians in cantonment areas. Here is one from the guide to West Africa:

Race prejudice against the African or against American Negro troops in Africa would be a good way to turn the African against us. Everyone is entitled to his own prejudices, but it would be only sensible for those who have them to keep them under cover when such high stakes as the war and men's lives are on the table. None of us wants to aid Hitler.

After a regrettable and costly delay, the army apparently has begun to realize the necessity for some sort of domestic program. In September the Army War College made excerpts of a clear-cut military analysis of race prejudice from the August issue of the highly respected Infantry Journal. These excerpts, and others from The Journal, were supplied to officers along with a selected reading list of articles and books dealing

resolution furthermore had restricted Negro service to labor battalions "for the purpose of constructing entrenchments, performing camp service, or any other labor in the military or naval service for which they may be found competent." But eventually, having been denied reinforcements from Washington and proceeding under orders to hold New Orleans "by all means and hazards," he mustered into service a self-drilled corps of Native Guards numbering about five thousand Negroes. In the course of time his prejudice moved to another extreme and he wrote of his Negro troops that "better soldiers never shouldered a musket." Later he wrote a report excoriating Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, who succeeded him at New Orleans and reinstituted retrogressive policies toward the black troops. While Butler's personal character has been discredited, this following opinion of the service of Negro troops (a clear foreshadowing of the army's race problem today) cannot be deprived of its military significance:

"After I left New Orleans, Gen. Banks enlisted many more of them [Negroes] but was weak enough to take away from them the great object of their ambition, under the spur of which they were ready to fight to the death, namely, equality with the white soldiers. He was also unmanly enough to add injustices to that folly by taking the commissions from their line officers, which I had given them, and to brand their organization with the stigma of a designation as the Corps d' Afrique. Yet in spite of this unwisdom, they did equal service and laid down their lives at Port Hudson in equal numbers comparatively with their white brothers in arms."

Today, eighty years later, the progressive attitude toward the conditions of Negro service, which General Butler found militarily sound policy and for which he argued, is still denied by the army.

This material is quoted from an article by Enoc P. Waters in The Chicago Defender, based on an unpublished study by James La Fourche of New Orleans.

with the race problem. A few queer books like the racist tract "The Rising Tide of Color," by Lothrop Stoddard, were included, perhaps through an ill considered effort to give a rounded picture. But on the whole the material was excellent. It is also rumored that the War Department is planning to include courses of instruction in all army camps—presumably illuminating the military cost of aggressive racism—under the direction of Lt.-Commander Herbert Agar.

If passages from the Infantry Journal article could be impressed upon all commanding officers, and if these would thereby stand up for the human dignity of their troops in uniform, Negro as well as white, in the face of frequently wanton aggression and brutality on the part of civilian authorities and occasionally white military police, they would go a long way toward solving the mounting problem of Negro morale; on the home front as well as in the army. One passage reads:

Sometimes the prejudice against the Negroes flares up in the army. It is not a problem, however, in a camp where it is well understood that a soldier in the United States uniform is a *soldier*, not a white or Negro, Christian or Jew, rich man or poor, but a soldier, and as such is worthy of respect.

And not everyone feels race prejudice. There are plenty of white men who are constantly meeting and working with black, brown and yellow men of brains, education, culture and ability. These white men know that skin color is not a sign of inferiority or superiority, and they tend to forget about it. . . . Those white men are numerous in Europe, South America, Asia and Africa, where the races are mixed up in business and politics.

In the United States we are more used to seeing large numbers of men with dark skins who are uneducated. We do not often meet the scholars among the Chinese, Negroes and other dark-skinned peoples. The two oceans have in the past prevented most of us from becoming acquainted with the more able and successful men of Africa and Asia. So we keep our prejudices. Nowadays, with the great American enthusiasm for the bravery of our Chinese allies, this prejudice is less than it was, but it is still very strong.

Now, however, the American soldier is going among people who do not share his prejudices. These unprejudiced white men may find it hard to understand if he shows antagonism toward other Americans or our allies on account of their color, just as the Americans may be surprised at these more liberal attitudes.

If, however, the American soldier understands the basis for his own feelings, as well as those of the men he meets, he can avoid friction and embarrassment to America.

And he must come to understand and learn to respect their manners. Only then will he realize that national differences in manners and customs are mostly due to differences of tradition, climate and religion.

"A soldier in the United States uniform is a *soldier*, not a white or Negro, Christian or Jew, rich man or poor, but a soldier, and as such is worthy of respect." Here is the mandate of common sense, of morality, of history, to the army of American democracy.

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To carry on the civil rights phase of its work the NAACP maintains a full-time Legal Staff whose chief traveled a total of 50,000 miles in 1942; a National Legal Committee of 29 lawyers, white and colored, located in 18 cities; and, in each of its 546 Branches in 41 states and the District of Columbia, a standing Legal Redress Committee usually including in membership at least one attorney.

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The Negro and Politics

LEGAL AND EXTRA-LEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT of some nine million Negroes—and millions of whites—who live in Southern states is one of the chief pieces of unfinished business before American democracy. Among progressive Americans everywhere a priority must be given to all efforts to broaden the basis of suffrage. This must be done through the support of federal measures like the perennial anti-poll-tax bill, which sooner or later will be passed, and through educational programs to bring home to the understanding of the white masses that the Negro is a potential ally and not an enemy. It is only through broadening the base of suffrage that the South can escape from its long and costly imprisonment by the industrial and agrarian plutocracy. Once, in an access of enlightenment and affirmation, white men rose in a populist political rebellion against their masters. Fear of the Negro in the long run proved their fatal weakness, for it was manipulated with skill and ruthlessness by the plutocracy; it was used to divide and confuse, and eventually to crush the movement. The impetus which moved them half a century ago must be again awakened by organized labor and other progressive groups in the South, and this time the Negro must be an ally. History teaches this lesson.

Over and over again, one hears in the wartime declarations of Southern politicians a curiously twisted argument; an argument which is not without grim humor. "While our boys are fighting and dying for democracy on Guadalcanal," one Southern legislator said some months ago, "democracy is being betrayed at home by these anti-poll-tax agitators, who are trying to destroy our principle of white supremacy." In one version or another, this statement has been made many times. One runs across it in a recent one-man declaration of secession from the Democratic Party by Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana, who conducted his unilateral revolt in the pages of *The Saturday Evening Post*:

White Southern boys in the armed services, who, perhaps have an understanding and affection for the Negro race not shared by their comrades from other sections, do not improve in morale when they are told that one of the things they are fighting for is social equality of the Negro. They would renounce any such war aim, rightly or wrongly.

For "social equality" it is more accurate to read "political equality." This is the real fear of Southern reaction for which Governor Jones in recent months has been a confused but active spokesman. It is true that most white Southerners in the army would renounce such a war aim, for they are heirs to the prejudice against the Negro, and have had little opportunity to learn its cost to their impoverished land and exploited people. But wars wrench men out of their backgrounds, and jolt their thinking, and white soldiers

and others in the post-war South are going to have a chance to learn some of the political facts of life. For one thing, the labor movement has made significant inroads into the growing industrial populations of a number of the states. On the waterfront of New Orleans, in the mines and mills of Alabama, in the war plants of Tennessee and Texas and Georgia, progressive groups of organized labor are growing. There has been a long and significant list of NLRB elections in Southern industry. Those centers of the growing labor movement are proving invaluable bases of operation in the agitation for broadened suffrage. These are the realities which have the plutocracy's spokesmen, like Governor Jones, musing in a disquieted frame of mind about domestic war aims and democracy.

Here is a paragraph from an interesting letter sent some months ago to *The New Republic* which suggests the strong labor undercurrent in the South today:

When last I was in Birmingham I talked to a Negro named —, and though it was a brief conversation, I will not forget it. He was an officer of one of the mine-union locals, a local with white and Negro membership. He had a lot of servile mannerisms like "yassuh" in his talk still, but the words that came out of his mouth were pure militant trade unionism. It was a curious thing to see this ideology matched up with this soft-spoken cornfield Negro, to use the old term. He had a pleasant, humorous, direct manner—and he gave the impression that there was plenty of guts below the surface. If there are very many more Negroes like him in the South today—and the number must be growing—I know some white folks who are going to be in for a rude awakening when they try to continue with the old line about "we know what the nigger wants; he wants the white man to tell him what to do."

Elimination of the poll tax will not of course assure the Negro suffrage; other techniques, ranging from discriminatingly administered qualification tests to threats of violence, will continue for the time being to keep him from the polls. But the poll tax is the principal buttress between the Southern Negro and the ballot and its removal will bring him pressing ever nearer to political emancipation. One by one these buttresses will go down. Four states already have repealed the tax, Louisiana, North Carolina, Florida and Kentucky. Tennessee would have made the fifth, but the repealing act of the legislature was ruled unconstitutional by a state supreme court which took the all but incredible position that a legislature could not repeal its own act. The seven other states in which the tax remains are: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The poll tax is badly on the defensive. It has important and influential enemies among Southern people of prestige. The most effective argument against it, in the South, is that it disfranchises more white people than it does Negroes. The statistics of this disfranchisement are startling and effective. Southern Senators and Representatives are elected by proportions of voters

The Negro People and the Fight for Freedom

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS is dedicated to the promotion of unity among individuals and organizations in the common struggle toward securing the full rights of citizenship for Negro Americans.

During its brief seven years of history it has given leadership in such campaigns as those for adequate relief assistance during the depression, in promoting trade unionism among Negro workers during the CIO organizing drives, against police brutality in several major cities, and against discrimination in industrial and federal employment and in the armed forces.

In waging these struggles on various fronts, the National Negro Congress has always stressed the relationship of the specific problem of Negro rights to the general question of advancing the democratic rights of all Americans. In so doing, the Congress has won the support of white liberal forces, particularly among organized labor. And, even more important, it has helped significantly to prevent distortion and misconception of the "Negro problem" in the minds of both Negroes and whites.

THIS contribution notwithstanding, one finds even now, when the maximum unity and effort of all people are needed to win victory over fascism, that there is a great deal of distorted and misguided thinking about Negro rights current in the land.

Some of this thinking is naïve and based simply on limited perspective; some is of the prejudice-as-usual-come-hell-and-high-water type; and some is deliberate fifth column propaganda. All of it is suicidally dangerous.

The National Negro Congress has one answer for those who declare that the struggle for Negro rights must be deferred because it will interfere with the war effort, as well as for those who insist that the Negro must win his rights at home before joining in the fight to liberate other people.

The answer is that *the struggle for Negro rights must go hand in hand and is inseparably bound up with the Negro's participation in the winning of the war.* This principle applies with equal force to the struggle of the Indian, African and Caribbean peoples for freedom.

AS THE Negro takes his place on a completely equal basis with other Americans in the armed forces, in war industries, and in all home front services, both the cause of democracy and the furtherance of the national war effort will be served. The fight for greater democratic opportunities is today no mere humanitarian issue, nor an issue affecting only the Negro, the Jew, or colonial peoples; it is the struggle for a sound political policy which permits of no compromise in the achievement of a people's victory, the achievement of absolute and speedy defeat of the fascist enemy.

There are only two possible paths of political action in the world today: the anti-fascist and the pro-fascist. There is no middle or third path. The destiny of the Negro people along with the destiny of the world will be determined by whether the strength of the anti-fascist forces is greater than the strength of the pro-fascists.

The extent to which Negro Americans now unite their collective might with that of organized labor and the majority of progressive white Americans in support of the fundamentally sound war policies of the administration will determine the extent to which the war-time gains of Negroes and other minorities will be preserved in the post-war period. If the poll-tax Congressmen, the Klan and its friends, and other reactionary forces are decisively beaten *now* by a united array of democratic forces, a full anti-fascist victory and people's peace can and will be won.

SUCH a decisive defeat of domestic reaction entails the exposure and isolation from public influence of those who oppose the full participation of *all* the people and the full mobilization of the national economy for the winning of the war; those who block the prosecution of full coalition warfare by means of a whispering and slandering campaign against the Soviet Union, and continue to repeat the same threadbare arguments against the opening of a full-scale second front in Europe by the Anglo-American forces and their allies; and those who would employ any expedient to prevent the decisive defeat and unconditional surrender of the fascist enemy.

The Negro people must not and will not be deluded into giving their support to such enemies of the people. The Negro's stake in victory dictates that he take neither a negative nor "neutral" position on the prosecution of the war, but a *positive* one in alliance with all the forces of progress.

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS stands pledged to the task of cementing the fullest possible unity among the Negro people and unity of Negroes with labor and other progressive forces in achieving the maximum collaboration between the United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union and the other United Nations; in supporting the administration's war policies; and in furthering all measures which will contribute to the absolute defeat of the fascist axis at the earliest possible moment.

The specific home front measures which the Congress regards as indispensable for winning a people's victory include:

- ** Immediate abolition of segregation and discrimination against Negroes in all branches of the armed services and the women's services.
- ** Full integration of Negro men and women into industry without discrimination.
- ** Support for the administration's program of rationing and other measures to defeat the high cost of living—an increased Federal child-care program, more low-cost housing projects, and extension of public health and educational services.
- ** The arrest and prosecution of leaders of the Ku Klux Klan, Black Legion, and other anti-Negro, anti-Semitic organizations.
- ** Curbing the propagation of racial theories through the medium of degrading representations of Negroes in motion pictures, stage plays, radio and press.
- ** Immediate passage of the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill by the Senate of the United States.
- ** Registration of every Negro voter for the 1944 elections to vote out of office the appeasers, pro-fascists, poll taxers and anti-labor officeholders.

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commonly ranging from two to seven or eight percent of the potential voters; outside the South the average ranges from 45 to 60 percent. In comparable states like Wisconsin and Georgia, each with a population of three millions, 1,500,000 vote in Wisconsin compared with 300,000 in Georgia. Rep. Martin Dies of Texas and Rep. Warren G. Magnuson of Washington come from districts about equal in population. Dies was elected by 12,824 voters, Magnuson by 147,061.

Huey Long, who was supported by the common people of Louisiana with a fanatical loyalty, abolished the poll tax to enable more of them to go to the polls and swell the margins of his victories. Ironically, it was this very expansion of the electorate that resulted in the defeat of the Long ring after his death; it no longer could hold the masses enthralled and, though a mighty effort was made, it could no longer steal enough votes to turn the tide of reform sentiment.

Under a rotten-borough political system which deprives nine people in ten of the ballot, a congressman can get elected term after term with monotonous ease; a coalition of a few plantation owners, or factory owners and the business cliques in the towns, can make him a political invincible. He is their tool for the duration of the arrangement, which is commonly twenty to thirty years in many Southern districts. Under the antiquated seniority rules of Congress, Southern members—almost inevitably reactionary—win their ways to

the all-important chairmanships of more than half of the powerful committees, although they represent scarcely a quarter of the population.

There is little wonder, in the light of this record, that legislation desired by minority groups such as the Negro and labor face almost hopeless obstacles. This is the unanswerable argument for Southern electoral reform. It is the argument that the expanding labor movement and other progressive forces in the South will be making with increasing effectiveness in the years immediately ahead.

It would be idle to deny that many Negroes at present are deeply dissatisfied with President Roosevelt. Probably some of them will vote for the Republican candidate next year, whoever that candidate may be. It is regrettable of course that any Negro should vote on a single issue, that of race equality; that he should not consider all the elements in the situation, including the kind of America the Republican Party wants to make if it gets into power. It is indicative, however, of the seriousness with which the Negroes take the race issue that many of them will vote on a basis of this matter alone.

The growing power of former Mr. Justice Byrnes in his capacity as "assistant President" is a manifestation which Negroes consider ominous. There has obviously been an amount of serious consideration on the President's part of the possibility of running Byrnes

Searching for Truth

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as Vice President in 1944. Negroes remember him for his hostility when he was a high-grade political trader in the Senate. They recall and cite the fact that when he was a Representative from South Carolina he consistently fought appropriations for Howard University. Negroes would deny their vote to any ticket which placed Byrnes and others like him in power. Negro leaders point out that the migratory shift of some three million Southern Negroes, in the past quarter-century, has built up Negro populations which all but hold the political balance of power in states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana.

The two most clever and aggressive Republican hopefuls, Willkie and Dewey, have been cruising around with hungry eyes on the Negro vote. Willkie's outspoken liberal views of the race issue have made him an object of sincere appreciation and even affection. Like white progressives, Negroes have been suspicious of Dewey on the whole; but Dewey not only is hopeful, but smart, and his recent nomination of a Negro attorney for a \$17,500 judgeship—the most remunerative public office ever given a Negro—is an indication that he will make an effective bid for Negro votes.

Negro Progress

NEGROES HAVE GAINED much in America, and, though race reform is still the great lag in our democracy, the story of Negro progress does not give cause for despair.

Negro gains in the field of higher education have been impressive. In 1916 all the Negro colleges in the country showed a total enrolment of only 2,637. Six years later the figure had doubled; by 1927 it had more than doubled again. In 1932 the figure reached 22,000; in 1938, 34,000; in 1941, more than 45,000.¹ In the eighty-odd years since emancipation, literacy has risen from 5 to 85 percent. Negro ownership of property had risen in the same time to \$2,500,000,000; annual purchasing power in the last normal year before the war was \$2,000,000,000.

Fifty years ago the annual death rate was 33 per 1,000—comparable to the death rates in the worst sections of China and India. Great improvement in health facilities and modes of living have cut the rate to an estimated 14 per 1,000—32 percent above the annual death rate of 10.6 for the country as a whole.²

These gains are important and impressive. They are proof of a fact which Negroes understand even in a mood of agitation and spiritual revolt, that it is in America where their hope of greatest progress lies.

But lest these statistics become a cause for complacency, and an argument for the status quo in race reform, they must be compared with comparable white

¹ Below the Potomac, by Virginius Dabney. New York: Appleton-Century.

² American Negroes, by Edwin R. Embree. New York: John Day.

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statistics rather than with what the Negro had fifty or eighty years ago. Eighty years ago he had nothing. The real question is not how much freedom or education or food the Negro has, but what are America's resources, and does he get his share. In the ideal democracy, health and education are not largess to be doled out benevolently through the years, but rights and privileges shared in equally by all.

There are many more agencies at work educating public opinion than there were at the close of the last war. Few churches do not make some form of educational effort on the race problem. Increasingly, leading magazines open their pages to thoughtful treatment of the problem of race. Many colleges, universities, high schools and even grammar schools give it consideration today. A gradually improving treatment of the Negro in movies and radio will help to destroy the old stereotype of the Negro as a comic or menial figure exclusively, and picture him as he really is.

Fortunately, the United States Supreme Court in recent years has consistently handed down decisions in cases brought before it dealing with the Negro which have enormously improved his status. Among these have been the Negro's and any other citizen's right to a trial in a court not dominated by mob violence; the right to a trial before a jury from which members of his race have not been excluded; the right of equal pay for equal work by teachers; and various other rights dealing with the franchise. These are decisions which, more than being merely preventive, have given pause to those who would depress the Negro's status still further.

To individuals The New Republic recommends that they join at least one of the various organizations which are tackling this question directly or indirectly. To those who are church members and would prefer working through these organizations, there are several departments, such as the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the Catholic Interracial Council, which are doing effective work on this question. Those who are connected with the labor movement can work through their local and international units. It is particularly important that members of the Railroad Brotherhoods and of those AFL unions which by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or custom bar Negroes from membership, should work within the ranks to change these policies. There are many other organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Council Against Intolerance in America, the March-on-Washington Movement, the Union for Democratic Action and others, which are tackling the problem.

Readers of newspapers and magazines can help by challenging biased or inaccurate news or editorial treatment of the Negro question. It is especially important to express approval when newspapers or magazines

carry thoughtful and intelligent articles or editorials. Moviegoers should express disapproval of ridicule or biased treatment of the Negro or other minorities in the moving pictures, and express approval and support of films which depict the Negro and other minorities in normal and decent fashion.

Particularly important to the solution of the race question is the necessity for the American electorate to beat back reaction, especially in the 1944 election. It is unfortunate that today many liberals are either disheartened or weary. To them we repeat a passage from a recent issue of The New Republic:

... The vote which put Mr. Roosevelt into power and has kept him there ... is not the Solid South, which will support any Democratic nominee but falls far short of a majority. It is not the Republican conservative backbone, which will vote the Republican ticket come hell or high water, and also fall short of a majority. It is the Northern industrial workers, the dissatisfied or progressive farmers, the lower or middle-income classes, the Negroes and the independent progressives who find natural allies in these groups, and have done much to provide leadership of their opinions. These voters also would fall short of a majority if they voted alone, but they can pile up an overwhelming majority if they vote together for any Democratic or Republican candidate.

In race persecution, white America has learned to play a dangerous game, and must unlearn it. Two can play at any game, races as well as individuals.

This supplement, and all such writing like it, will be accepted by the racists of America as an attempt to whitewash the Negro's rebelliousness. By any enduring standards of truth and ethics, the Negro's cause is just. Justice cannot be whitewashed. It is a tragedy that a vast number of Caucasians have learned to live by the lie of racism; it is true that inherited beliefs cannot be changed overnight; it is true that an amount of understanding, of pity, of commiseration must be placed in the scales in favor of even white oppressors who are suffering today beneath the weight of their own tragic folkways. But this cannot halt the expression of extreme criticism of these folkways; it cannot invalidate the obvious fact that extreme reforms are needed. Everything the white man suffers because of his tragic racial folkways, the Negro suffers a hundredfold; everything the white man gains in privilege, prestige, laborious services, material wealth, the Negro loses. Who will justify this?

There is something pitiable in the folly of white men who issue fiats and moratoriums and unilateral prohibitions against race reform. It seems a very simple thing to them to slam the door of white America in the Negro's face. They are quick with accusations of blindness, while in their own blind arrogance they attempt the impossible, and believe that they carry it off. Humanity has its shoulder in that door. No door can be slammed against its weight.